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# Significant Dates )

[ASTERISK denotes ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

### MAR

- 8 International Women's Day. (Celebrated by WIDF, Communist women's front.)
- 8-15\* February Revolution in Russia. (Old Style dates: 23 February-2 March.)
  15 March: Tsar Nicholas II adbicates. 1917. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- II-18 3rd Afro-Asian Writers' Conference at Beirut. (This meeting of Soviet-line followers of the split Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau is rescheduled from 18-25 March to avoid conflicting with a holiday.)
  - President's message to Congress advances Truman Doctrine: recommends aid to Greece and Turkey to combat Communism. Approved by Congress, 15 May. 1947. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
  - 14\* Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg sign "Benelux" Customs Union. 1947.
    TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY
- 21-28 World Youth Week celebrated by World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY: Communist front).
  - Treaties creating European Economic Community (EEC) and European Community of Atomic Energy (Euratom) signed in Rome by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg. 1957. TENTH ANNIVERSARY.
  - 27\* Khrushchev succeeds Bulganin as Premier of USSR. 1957.
- 27-5 International Union of Students Congress at Ulan Bator, Mongolia. (IUS: Soviet-line Communist front)
  - 29 Martyrs' Day and Youth Day. (Communist China)

### **APR**

- 1\* Berlin Blockade begins. In 15 months, US and Britain airlift 2.34 million tons of vital supplies to city. (Blockade lifted by Soviets, 12 May 1949) 1948.
- 4\* North Atlantic Treaty signed, including US, Canada and 10 West European countries. 1949.
- USSR and Germany sign Treaty of Rapallo; secret military accord enables Germany to evade Treaty of Versailles by training men and testing and building weapons in USSR. 1922. FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY.
- 17\* Lenin delivers "April Theses" in first public appearance after return to Russia. 1917. FIFTLETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 18-27\* First Bandung Conference: 29 Afro-Asian countries participate. 1955.
  - World Youth Day Against Colonialism and For Peaceful Coexistence. Celebrated by WFDY and IUS. (Communist fronts)
  - 28 "Expo 67" opens in Montreal with Bloc participation.

Media Lines

16 January 1967

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS OPEN NEWS AGENCY. The Italian Communist Party (PCI) inaugurated in October a news and feature service called PARCOMIT. Alessandro Curzi, head of the PCI's information office, is the director of PARCOMIT, which has its headquarters at 4 Via delle Botteghe Oscure, Rome. The first bulletin issued by PARCOMIT (dated 17 October) stated that it was to be published daily and would specialize in political information. According to Agence France Presse, PARCOMIT will also provide extensive coverage on labor matters. (Unclassified) (See ML of 26 September and 24 October 1966, BPGs 200 and 202, for other developments in the Italian Communist press.)

CHICOMS CLOSE NEWS AGENCY OFFICE IN MEXICO CITY. The New China News Agency office in Mexico City was suddenly closed on 28 October, and its three-man staff have been repatriated. Comment: It was well known in press circles that NCNA had practically no success in its propaganda operations in Mexico. There was also speculation that the Peking Government may have felt that NCNA employees in Mexico were becoming too bourgeois. (Unclassified)

# Briefly Noted



16 January 1967

E. German Aide Suggests a More Sophisticated Menu Is a Torrent of Repetitious Propaganda Counterproductive?

"We should find out precisely the results and effects of our

regular publicity channels and avoid repeating in the same way in enterprises what our colleagues have already heard on the radio or read in the newspapers." This was stated in an article in issue No. 23 (1966) of the East German theoretical journal NEUER WEG by Werner Lamberz, head of the Agitation Department of the Socialist Unity (i.e., Communist) Party Central Committee. He also argued that, since Marxism-Leninism has been taught for many years now in East German schools, Party organizations should adopt new goals in ideological work: "When someone has already been trained in higher mathematics at school, you shouldn't later go and teach him two-times-two!"

Herr Lamberz went on to say that "this does not mean that oral agitation and propaganda [i.e., propaganda conducted by agitators in the factories] are losing significance," but he cited statistics showing the scope of the mass media propaganda barrage which falls on East German workers (8½ million out of a total population of 17 million) away from their jobs: there are 38 daily newspapers published in well over 6 million copies, 8 illustrated magazines and weekly newspapers published in almost 4 million copies, 5 radio programs on the air a total of 1,220 hours a week, and 72 hours of television programs a week.

He suggested that this frees the agitator to do his real job of giving an "informed interpretation" of Party and Government decisions.

Certainly the saturation point has been reached in boring the East German workers with the "two-times-two" of the "glories" of Communism. Lamberz pointed out in his article that statistics on the numbers of meetings and seminars were not so important as success in convincing people, and for this one must consider "whether the right methods were used, whether one interested or bored people, and whether or not one had reached the mind and heart of the fellow-workers."

Whether or not the East German agitprop workers succeed in any of this, Lamberz' suggestions are valid not only for them but for other propagandists as well.

\* \* \*

Bathrobes for Viet Congs' Black Pajamas? East Germans Seize
Babies Christmas Toys
and Send them to North
Vietnam

East German authorities advised West Berliners in early December that many of the Christmas gift packages they had mailed to relatives and friends on the other side of the Wall had been confiscated "because regulations were disregarded." Two of the chief "violations" cited by East German authorities were the mailing of a baby's toys

to a mother or a woman's bathrobe to a man; everything must be for the sole use of the addressee on the parcel, postal regulations were said to require.

The West Berliners received cards notifying them of the confiscation and informing them that the East German authorities had "as a matter of course put your package at the disposal of the freedom fighters in Vietnam."

We call attention to this flagrant violation of the Yuletide spirit, stressing that this is just one more example (in previous years East Germany had sent similarly confiscated packages to "freedom fighters" in Cuba) of the Communist puppet regime's disregard for their people whenever they want to make a politically motivated propaganda move in the battle of nerves with the West. We point out that in all probability, none of the packages was actually sent to Vietnam — the limited transport facilities are too clogged with more "vital" things, such as weapons.

\* \* \*

USIS Material In Danish Given To Students

U.S. Pamphlets Distributed At Meeting Addressed by North Vietnamese Ambassador

A student meeting in Aarhus, Denmark, on 13 December featured a talk by the North Vietnamese Ambassador to Moscow followed by his answers to a few questions asked by the audience (hampered by the need to translate them from Danish to Russian and then to Vietnamese). At the end of the meeting the chairman, according to the independent Copenhagen newspaper INFORMATION, expressed appreciation to those who had been "kind enough" to distribute Danish-language material on Vietnam to the audience.

This Danish-language material was actually "The War in South Vietnam and the American Freedom Offensive, a Chronology," published by USIS Copenhagen. Although such unusual opportunities as this to tell the U.S. side of the story about Vietnam do not occur everyday, nevertheless everyone should be constantly alert to determine what occasions -- even the most unexpected ones -- are suitable for countering the growing tide of Communist and other anti-U.S. propaganda about Vietnam.

\* \* \*

Poland and
Hungary Tighten
Restrictions;
Rumania and
Czechoslovakia
Ease Them

Contrasting Policies towards
Western Journalists
in East European
Satellites

The December 1966 issue of the monthly, Analyse, published in Vienna, contained a long article based on the experiences of Vienna -based Austrian and other Western journalists which contrasts the attitudes of five East European Communist governments towards foreign (non-Communist) correspondents. Poland and Hungary, which for several years had displayed a fairly tolerant attitude towards Western correspondents, have noticeably altered this attitude in the past year: Poland makes jour nalists wait at least two weeks for visas; Hungary, which had instituted "permanent" visas with unlimited reentry privileges in 1964, has abolished them as of 1 January 1967, and in addition has refused visas to some Western journalists. Moreover, in recent months, journalists have encountered an unfriendly attitude on the part of Hungarian officialdom. Albania, as might be expected, discourages visits by Western journalists, and obliges those journalists who do

come to do so as part of official guided tours, under close surveillance. Rumania and Czechoslovakia have both become relatively friendly towards Western journalists, and provide visas readily. Rumania also provides help and facilities to journalists once they are in the country -- which of course is also a way of influencing them.

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Next 7 Page(s) In Document Exempt

#9

22 November 1966-2 January 1967

#### CHRONOLOGY

### WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS

November 22 and continuing: Chinese Communist media reflect the regime's intense involvement in the confused events of the "cultural revolution" (CR), -- now often called the "great proletarian CR" (GPCR). On the 22nd, for example, PEOPLE'S DAILY carries two articles and an "ed. note" attacking a new "anti-Party element in the field of history, Hou Wai-lu," a historian and member of the Acad of Sciences. Among other misdeeds, in Vol. IV of his COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY completed in 1959, he "created a false Chen Liang who dared to 'scold' the emperor."

November 22 & continuing: Soviet media markedly increase both volume and sharpness of their reporting and commentary on China and the CR -- and the Chinese oust 3 of the 6 Soviet journalists in China (D 16). On the 22nd, for example, TASS reports that the Hung Weipings ["Red Guards"] continue their outrages... In their efforts to fan anti-Soviet hysteria, they have launched a slanderous campaign against two more socialist countries, Hungary and Bulgaria." (See #8 for causes of Chinese attacks on H & B.) PRAVDA same day carries one of a continuing series of self-righteous editorials -- "Our Banner Is Internationalism" -- condemning "the splitting course of the CCP leaders" and Justifying a new "international meeting of Communists." Separate items during this period cite more than a dozen national parties, mostly in IA, as publicly supporting the CPSU against the CCP, often with endorsement of an international meeting (this in addition to speeches at the Hungarian Party Congress -- see Nov 28-Dec 3).

Media of EE countries critical of the Chicoms follow a similar line in extensive reporting and commentary, especially the Czechs and Yugoslavs. On the 22nd, for example, Prague CTK reports heavy damage to a Tientsin factory due to RG actions and Belgrade TANYUG reports at length on internal conflicts among the RG, violent battles in factories, etc.

November 22: Djakarta Radio reports: "about 700 Gestapu-PKI <u>fugitives</u> are now <u>in Peking</u> and are engaged in directing a <u>political guerrilla</u> war against the new order in Indonesia."...

November 22 and continuing: The splitting process among Japanese Communists and front leaders continues (see Nos. 7 & 8):

--- JCP daily AKAHATA on the 22nd announces the expulsion of "13 anti-Party elements" residing in Peking (adding 4 more next day): the first-mentioned, Hiromi Takano, has lived there 28 years! "They have somewhat lost touch with the actual situation under which the Japanese working class and people have been living," says A. Tokyo KYODO adds that the JCP has thus far expelled about 60 members said to be pro-Peking.

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(Chrono Cont.)

- -- Tokyo MAINICHI on the 22nd reports: "With the development of splits in a series of leftist mass organizations due to the JCP-CCP contention, four leaders of the pro-CCP group in the New Japanese Women's Association resigned on 21 November to form another organization." At a press conference in the office of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox) they branded the JWA "a sub-organization of the JCP, which is hostile toward China..."
- -- AKAHATA on the 23rd carries a "declaration by the 10th general meeting of the Japan Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee on 22 November" which rejoices that the Committee preserved its unity when "schismatic activities are being stepped up against the Committee both from within and from outside."
- -- AKAHATA on December 4 announces expulsion of Masayuki Yasui, Communist bookstore president and a director of the JCFA for anti-Party factional activities.
- --- Tokyo ASAHI on the 4th reports that four recently-expelled pro-Chinese dissidents left on the 3rd for China, where they have been invited to "establish for the first time a friendly trading company --Toko Trading Co. -- as a route to supply funds to the China-affiliated ... faction."
- -- NCNA on Dec. 5 publicizes a lengthy report on a meeting of the Standing Council of the JCFA (Orthodox) in Tokyo 3-4: it decided to "set up its branches in all prefectures throughout Japan before the end of the year and to convene a national congress in April of next year."
- -- AKAHATA on the 11th announces the expulsion of Yuichi Kobayashi, former chairman of the Japan Journalist Congress, for anti-Party activities: he "blindly followed the dictate of a particular foreign force, bringing a serious schismatic trend into the Party by organizing a splinter group called the Japan Journalist League."
- November 22 through December 11: NCNA on the 23rd reports from the Peking-sponsored "Economic and Trade Fair" in Nagoya Nov. 19-Dec. 11: "hooligans of Jap. right-wing organizations, with the connivance of the Sato Govt., yesterday carried out rabid sabotage activities" at the exhibit, beat up exhibit personnel, distributed anti-Chinese handbills," and even made a hullabaloo abusing Chinese state leaders," -- "right in front of large numbers of police sent out by the Jap. authorities." The official Chinese protest included the Soviets in its charge: "We solemnly declare that the Chinese and Japanese peoples will never permit the heinous crimes of following U.S. imperialism and collaborating with Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries in disrupting Sino-Japanese friendship." At the Fair's close, the Chinese claim a great success, with attendance of over 2 million.

November 23: Czech agency CTA reports from Peking new poster attacks on President Liu Shao-chi and Party SecyGen Teng Hsiao-ping: Liu is called "a time bomb" menacing Mao and "the Chinese Khrushchev." Moscow's "Radio Peace and Progress" in English says that "rowdies of the so-called Red Guard have opened special detention centers where they torture people who have been illegally detained. The teenage hooligans practice similar outrages at individual factories and enterprises..."

November 23 & Dec 15: NCNA rebuts PRAVDA correspondent Mayevsky's Nov. 21 Moscow press conference account of Chinese hostility which forced the M-headed Soviet friendship delegation to cut short its visit to China (see #8). "Citing incidents, Sino-Soviet Friendship Association council member Kang Chi-min told how Mayevsky and his party, on many occasions, picked quarrels and even openly interfered in China's internal affairs, -- and attacked China's GPCR and foreign policy." After the Soviets "openly slandered China's great CR by saying that it was 'destroying culture' and 'had no connection at all with proletarian revolution, "" the Red Guards, "their patience tried too far, refuted these statements by presenting the facts. At this moment, M. brazenly charged the RG with being 'anti-Soviet' and headed a demonstrative walkout." Kang says that the Soviet visitors repeatedly left places in the middle of visits, lodged "protests" without reason, and issued statements threatening to terminate their visit. "Finally, they went so far as to decide unilaterally to stop their visit and flagrantly leave China ahead of schedule...."

"The Soviet revisionist leading clique, which is doing every kind of vile thing, will be ultimately overthrown by the Soviet people."

November 24: CTK reports from Tokyo on an interview published there by a KYODO agency correspondent with a 15-year-old Peking schoolgirl:

"The Red Guards will rise in Washington, Moscow, and Tokyo, as well as in London. The Soviet citizens will surely join the anti-imperialist and anti-revisionist struggle of the CPR."

NCNA reports at length a "Voice of the People of Thailand" radio broadcast of the 22nd which exults in the "brilliant victories" of the "People's Armed Forces" against "U.S. imperialism and its lackey, the Thanom-Praphat clique," in Thailand. The PAF claim that in this year up to mid-November they have fought 120 battles with the enemy, killing and wounding 300 of them, including more than 20 army and police officers.

November 25: Radio Moscow satirizes the Mao cult with the following dead-pan report:

"Recently two soccer matches took place in Shanghai between a local team and a team from the Congo (Brazzaville). On the first day, 30,000 spectators came to the match with booklets

containing Mao Tse-tung's quotations and chanted them. The Congo team won, 3-1.

"At the second match, before the match and during the half, the spectators chanted Mao Tse-tung's quotations. The Congo won again, 2-1."

November 25-26: In what NCNA calls "the eighth and last review until spring next year," 2.5 million Red Guards get a glimpse of Mao and Lin Piao (also the beleaguered Lin Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping). They included "Long March" teams said to have come on foot from "13 provinces and autonomous regions in the north, east, northeast, and central-south China, including one from Inner Mongolia, 850 km (about 500 miles) away, which carried "a simple mimeograph machine which they used ... to duplicate bulletins and keep the peasants on the way posted on the CR."

November 26: Radio Moscow describes the "depressing picture" of the "shivering children and adolescents" marching in the snow in Peking. It also says that "the protests of the working people of China against the outrages and sometimes crimes of the Red Guards have put the leaders of the CCP into a state of confusion," again referring to cases of torture, invasion of factories, etc.

Radio Peking, continuing the <u>Chinese campaign</u> against persecution of Overseas Chinese in <u>Indonesia</u>, says that "the Chinese Govt has once again lodged a strong protest and sternly pointed out that in pigheadedly stepping up anti-Chinese activities, the Indonesian reactionaries will only suffer the consequences arising from its own actions." NCNA on the same day reports that "the <u>Soviet</u> revisionist leading clique has recently given political and economic <u>support</u> to the Indonesian rightwing military regime in an attempt to help it out of its domestic and international difficulties."

November 27: Major PRAVDA editorial, "On the Events in China," goes back to the August 11th plenum of the CCP/CC, which "officially corroborated the great-power and anti-Leninist course of Mao Tse-tung and his group aimed against the unity of socialist countries and the entire WCM."

"the arrogant attempt of the Chinese leaders to declare Mao Tse-tung's views the summit of M-L and to impose them on the WCM cannot but evoke a legitimate protest of the Communists of the whole world."

PRAVDA specifically blasts Lin Piao's declarations that "Mao is much higher than Marx, Engels, Lenin" and that "the classics of M-L should consist 99 percent of works by Mao."

Rebuffing all CPSU efforts to improve relations and restore unity, PRAVDA says, the Chinese leaders "openly declare that 'there is no place

in a united front' for the USSR," "hurl slanderous fabrications at the USSR," and "concentrate all fire on the CPSU and the Soviet Union, whose 'defeat' is the declared prerequisite of the struggle against imperialism."

"A systematic brainwashing of the population of China in an anti-Soviet spirit is now going on on an unprecedented scale.... Chinese leaders are trying to spread their anti-Soviet activity to the territory of our country. Tens of radio stations are incessantly beaming hostile and slanderous propaganda at the Soviet Union."

Deploring the "steady curtailment" of cooperation between the two countries, P notes that "at the same time the trade turnover of the CPR with capitalist countries is growing year by year."

Asking "With whom does the Chinese leadership want to rally?" P says:

"... On the one hand, they are trying to impose upon the fraternal parties a course which would lead to the constant aggravation of the international situation and ultimately to war, allegedly in the name of world revolution. On the other hand, the Peking leaders themselves carry on a line designed for remaining aside from the struggle with imperialism....

Guided by the principle, 'The ends justify the means,' the CCP leaders have armed themselves with the most unsavory tricks and methods of political struggle....

The repeated calls by the CCP leadership for 'organizational demarcation' ... were to serve to create a bloc of parties and groupings headed by the CCP. But ... they have no one in the Communist movement with whom to form a bloc....

The pretensions of the Chinese leadership to establish its control over the international democratic organizations, the WPC, the WFTU, the women's, youths, and other organizations -- did not succeed....

The Chinese leadership's plans in relation to the national liberation movement have not been realized. The major failures of Chinese policy ... have seriously alarmed the progressive forces in the young national states..."

All of this has caused, "as the Chinese press admits, growing discontent among party cadres, the intelligentsia, the army and broad strata of the Chinese people." But "instead of ... changing their mistaken course, Mao Tse-tung and his group have set out on the road of further development of this course, taking it to extremes. They saw the Party active, the Party cadres, as the chief obstacle in their way." However,

"... the Party cadres, who have passed through the school of the revolution, have begun to understand, despite the anti-Soviet campaign,... the full extent of the harm for China itself of the line directed toward a split with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It is difficult to deceive them with fabrications about some sort of 'plot' between the SU and the US, about 'the restoration of capitalism' in our country. That is why Mao and his group adopted a course of denigration and destruction of the Party cadres, the best representatives of the working class and the intelligentsia, using for this aim part of the student youth and the military administrative apparatus.

Coming up against opposition to their course, Mao and his supporters did not flinch from striking at the leading role of the Party in the state...."

November 23 and continuing: Chinese media continue on the theme of Soviet-U.S. "colluction" in NCNA releases on:

- -- Nov. 28, pegged to visits of Canadian and British Foreign Ministers to Moscow;
- -- Dec. 1 (also PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial on 2), and again on 21 (PD editorial on 22), pegged to UN General Assembly proceedings;
- -- Doc. 5, pegged to new Soviet loan of 970 million rubles "to the Indian reactionaries (which) is a component part of the new holy alliance formed by the U.S. and the S.U...."
- --- Dec. 9, pegged to Soviet participation on a Singapore meeting of the "so-called Asian Advisory Committee of the US-controlled International Labor Organization," -- "the 11th time that the Soviet revisionist leading clique and the Chiang Kai-shek clique have sat at the same conference table in southeast Asia since October last year."
- -- Dec. 10 and 11, pegged to draft treaty on peaceful uses of outer space;
- -- Dec. 14, citing US press praise of Soviet moratorium on payment of Indonesian debt.
- -- Dec. 15 and 17, seeing Soviet "conspiracy of forcing peace talks on Vietnam" by US bombing of Hanoi and then offering a bombing pause.
- -- Dec. 16, calling Japanese Premier Sato's Diet speech "chiming in" with US imperialism and Soviet revisionism "toward helping realize their fraud of 'forcing peace talks through bombing.'"

Soviet media try to counter in a low key, following the Nov. 27 PRAVDA line. Moscow's "Radio Peace and Progress" in English on the 14th cites again Chen Yi's statements to a Japanese parliamentarian and some unidentified NYTIMES comments and reaches "the conclusion that the reports being spread in the West about the tacit agreement between China and the US really do have certain foundations." The same program pushes the same line further on the 23rd, citing the NYTIMES again, George Kennan ("well known as a hard-core anti-Communist"), and Prof. Barnett of Columbia. Again on the 27th, it cites "well-known NYTIMES observer Harry Schwartz." Meanwhile, in Mandarin to the Chinese people, RM on Nov. 30 recounts UN action on China's admission, emphasizing that "the Peking propagandists, who are desperately trying to undermine Soviet state policy in the eyes of the Chinese people," have avoided any mention of Soviet support of China's right to representation: on Dec. 17, it rebuts NCNA's charges of collusion in agreeing to peaceful use of outer space.

November 28-Dec 3: The Hungarian Party's 9th Congress is held in Budapest, with only 32 foreign Communist or workers party representatives in attendance. Kadar's keynote speech condemns Chinese actions and policies and approves a "great conference" for which "conditions are ripening," — but adds that there is no need to excommunicate anyone. The Chinese and Albanians would be welcome, but if they cut themselves off, we cannot "wait to the end of time for a broader conference." Brezhnev likewise emphasizes the aim of unity and chastises imperialists for spreading "absolute nonsense" about the intent to excommunicate anyone. PRAVDA's round-up on Dec. 3 lists as supporting a world conference Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, France (all repeated from the Bulgarian conference in Nov.), Mongolia, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Greece (these five newly named), "and many others." Same report also quotes E. German and Spanish delegates as favoring a conference.

November 29: The ambassadors or charges of the five Soviet-aligned East European countries walk out of an Albanian National Day reception in Peking in protest against an attack on the Soviet leadership by Albanian ambassador. Representatives of Rumania, N. Korea, and N. Vietnam stay.

A long Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA commentary on the Chinese CR says: "It is strange, however, that neither the working class nor the hundreds of millions of peasants are taking part in this campaign which is called 'proletarian.'"

November 30: A V. Vasilyev article in <u>Soviet Army</u> daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star), "Behind the facade of the CR," tells how the <u>Chinese Army</u> was <u>purged</u> of "men disagreeing with Mao's military propositions" as well as "military specialists advocating studying the experience of the Soviet Army" in order to make the Army a "docile mechanism for implementing the ideas and instructions of Mao Tse-tung."

A brief item in <u>French CP</u> daily L'HUMANITE, "Is the UNR Preparing Pro-Chinese Candidates?" implies charge that the Gaullists are collaborating with the pro-Chinese Communist dissidents to set up "diversionary candidates" to defeat regular PCF candidates.

December 1: Presenting a "hero award" to the Black Sea port of Novorossisk, Politburo member Kirilenko publicly condemns the "great-power, anti-Leninist course" of the CCP leadership.

AP correspondent Bradsher reports from Moscow that, according to "informed sources," semi-public meetings are being held under CPSU auspices to spread information about Soviet-Chinese relations to the Soviet people. "Speakers go beyond what has been published in the increasingly strident press campaign against China. They say Chinese forces ... have crossed the Soviet borders and tried to build installations.... Speakers accuse China of having a secret agreement with the U.S.: if the Soviet Union and China get into war, the U.S. agrees not to help Moscow(!)."

NCNA describes the struggle waged by the Chinese delegation at "the Fifth International Conference of Agricultural, Forestry, and Plantation Workers" in East Berlin, 8-12 November, where "they forcefully exposed the ugly countenance of the Soviet leading group as accomplices of U.S. imperialism and as scabs." The Soviets "resorted to lies, calumny, bribery, and other shameless methods," "used such high-handed, undemocratic means as cutting off the loudspeaker and creating disturbances," etc. Thus, they succeeded in expelling from leading trade union posts such (pro-Chinese) leaders as the Ceylonese Sanmugathasan, and the Indonesian Tjugito, the Indian Lyallpuri."

December 1-9: Soviet Premier Kosygin is feted by De Gaulle on an official visit which journalists see as "more show than content." Soviet media comment that "the expansion of Soviet-French relations opens up new opportunities for putting into practice general European cooperation of all the states on our continent." (Quote from PRAVDA on the 6th.)

<u>December 3:</u> Two TASS releases describe further Red Guard outrages and clashes, and Czeck CTK reports a one-month extension of free transportation for RG from Peking.

December 3-4 and continuing: Several weeks of unrest caused by Chinese militants in the Portuguese enclave of Macao lead to a bloody riot:

NCNA reports "incomplete statistics" of 107 Chinese killed or wounded, including 7 dead. Mainland Chinese demonstrate and media denounce the "despicable fascist atrocities of the Port. imperialists"; PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator on the 11th 'lodges the strongest protest" and delivers a "stern warning" that the Port. "must at once accept and fully comply with all the just demands put forward by the Chinese side." Chinese gunboat patrols off Macao are reinforced. On the 20th, NCNA announces that the Port. authorities have been "compelled" to accept

the demands but warns that "the Chinese departments concerned and the masses of Chinese" will be watching closely for implementation of the demands. "If you talk one way and act another,... (etc.) you will be doubly punished." IZVESTIYA steps in on Dec 23 with an I. Gavrilov article says that "Peking did not use this opportunity to put an end to Port. rule in Macao" because the Macao operation is so profitable for the Chinese. "The conciliation with the Port. colonialists in Macao serves as additional proof that Peking's talk about the need to fight colonialism does not correspond to its deeds." Radio Moscow continues the same line on the 24th.

December 4: PEOPLE'S DAILY devotes entire front page to a Nov. 28 rally of 20,000 "revolutionary militants in the field of literature and the arts" at which it was announced that: (1) Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, had been appointed advisor on cultural work in the Army; and (2) the Army has taken over the major performing arts companies — the Peking Opera, the Philharmonic, the State Song and Dance Ensemble, etc. Chiang Ching's criticism of past errors and difficulties (treated as main event of rally) reveals that (1) CR initially hindered by opposition in old Propaganda Dept, Culture Ministry, and Peking City Committee; (2) some CR work teams hastily organized and sent out without Mao's permission; (3) Red Guard movement not well controlled; and (4) by implication, adherents of Mao line are in a minority, — a point of great sensitivity in the Party. Also implies dissatisfaction with new Propaganda Dept chief and CR leader Tao Chu by conspicuously omitting his name when praising comrades for support.

Czech CTK reports from Peking on new posters and RG press items revealing that "the RG and revolutionary students will form an <u>alliance with workers and farmers</u> to wage merciless war against the bourgeois reactionary line."

<u>December 5:</u> NYTIMES Moscow correspondent Anderson describes accounts in Soviet Central Asian press of measures being taken in the border areas to "sharpen military preparedness among the peoples of the SU's three Central Asian republics that border on China."

<u>December 6:</u> Communist <u>Chinese diplomats walk</u> out of a Kremlin ceremony marking the 25th anniversary of the Battle of Moscow when city Party chief Yegorichev condemns "the two-faced policy being pursued by China."

French CP daily L'HUMANITE article by senior theoretician Duclos denounces and deplores Chinese CR (in midst of Kosygin visit to France).

New posters in Peking demand <u>trials</u> of <u>senior victims</u> of the CR, including Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi, Lo Jui-ching, leading dramatist Tien Han, and candidate Secretariat member Yang Shang-kun (as reported by TANYUG and by Toronto GLOBE AND MAIL Peking correspondent Oancia). It is implied that Peng Chen is under arrest.

The joint communique on the conclusion of a 2-week visit by a Rumanian CP delegation with the Japanese CP emphasizes principles of independence and non-interference.

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Soviet media try to counter in a low key, following the Nov. 27 PRAVDA line. Moscow's "Radio Peace and Progress" in English on the 14th cites again Chen Yi's statements to a Japanese parliamentarian and some unidentified NYTIMES comments and reaches "the conclusion that the reports being spread in the West about the tacit agreement between China and the US really do have certain foundations." The same program pushes the same line further on the 23rd, citing the NYTIMES again, George Kennan ("well known as a hard-core anti-Communist"), and Prof. Barnett of Columbia. Again on the 27th, it cites "well-known NYTIMES observer Harry Schwartz." Meanwhile, in Mandarin to the Chinese people, RM on Nov. 30 recounts UN action on China's admission, emphasizing that "the Peking propagandists, who are desperately trying to undermine Soviet state policy in the eyes of the Chinese people," have avoided any mention of Soviet support of China's right to representation: on Dec. 17, it rebuts NCNA's charges of collusion in agreeing to peaceful use of outer space.

November 28-Dec 3: The Hungarian Party's 9th Congress is held in Budapest, with only 32 foreign Communist or workers party representatives in attendance. Kadar's keynote speech condemns Chinese actions and policies and approves a "great conference" for which "conditions are ripening," -- but adds that there is no need to excommunicate anyone. The Chinese and Albanians would be welcome, but if they cut themselves off, we cannot "wait to the end of time for a broader conference." Brezhnev likewise emphasizes the aim of unity and chastises imperialists for spreading "absolute nonsense" about the intent to excommunicate anyone. PRAVDA's round-up on Dec. 3 lists as supporting a world conference Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, France (all repeated from the Bulgarian conference in Nov.), Mongolia, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, Greece (these five newly named), "and many others." Same report also quotes E. German and Spanish delegates as favoring a conference.

November 29: The ambassadors or charges of the five Soviet-aligned East European countries walk out of an Albanian National Day reception in Peking in protest against an attack on the Soviet leadership by Albanian ambassador. Representatives of Rumania, N. Korea, and N. Vietnam stay.

A long Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA commentary on the Chinese CR says: "It is strange, however, that neither the working class nor the hundreds of millions of peasants are taking part in this campaign which is called 'proletarian.'"

November 30: A V. Vasilyev article in Soviet Army daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star), "Behind the facade of the CR," tells how the Chinese Army was purged of "men disagreeing with Mao's military propositions" as well as "military specialists advocating studying the experience of the Soviet Army" in order to make the Army a "docile mechanism for implementing the ideas and instructions of Mao Tse-tung."

A brief item in <u>French</u> CP daily L'HUMANITE, "Is the UNR Preparing Pro-Chinese Candidates?" implies charge that the Gaullists are collaborating with the pro-Chinese Communist dissidents to set up "diversionary candidates" to defeat regular PCF candidates.

December 1: Presenting a "hero award" to the Black Sea port of Novor-ossisk, Politburo member Kirilenko publicly condemns the "great-power, anti-Leninist course" of the CCP leadership.

AP correspondent Bradsher reports from Moscow that, according to "informed sources," semi-public meetings are being held under CPSU auspices to spread information about Soviet-Chinese relations to the Soviet people. "Speakers go beyond what has been published in the increasingly strident press campaign against China. They say Chinese forces ... have crossed the Soviet borders and tried to build installations.... Speakers accuse China of having a secret agreement with the U.S.: if the Soviet Union and China get into war, the U.S. agrees not to help Moscow(!)."

NCNA describes the struggle waged by the Chinese delegation at "the Fifth International Conference of Agricultural, Forestry, and Plantation Workers" in East Berlin, 8-12 November, where "they forcefully exposed the ugly countenance of the Soviet leading group as accomplices of U.S. imperialism and as scabs." The Soviets "resorted to lies, calumny, bribery, and other shameless methods," "used such high-handed, undemocratic means as cutting off the loudspeaker and creating disturbances," etc. Thus, they succeeded in expelling from leading trade union posts such (pro-Chinese) leaders as the Ceylonese Sanmugathasan, and the Indonesian Tjugito, the Indian Lyallpuri."

December 1-9: Soviet Premier Kosygin is feted by De Gaulle on an official visit which journalists see as "more show than content." Soviet media comment that "the expansion of Soviet-French relations opens up new opportunities for putting into practice general European cooperation of all the states on our continent." (Quote from PRAVDA on the 6th.)

<u>December 3:</u> Two TASS releases describe further Red Guard outrages and clashes, and Czeck CTK reports a one-month extension of free transportation for RG from Peking.

December 3-4 and continuing: Several weeks of unrest caused by Chinese militants in the Portuguese enclave of Macao lead to a bloody riot:

NCNA reports "incomplete statistics" of 107 Chinese killed or wounded, including 7 dead. Mainland Chinese demonstrate and media denounce the "despicable fascist atrocities of the Port. imperialists"; PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator on the 11th 'lodges the strongest protest" and delivers a "stern warning" that the Port. "must at once accept and fully comply with all the just demands put forward by the Chinese side."

Chinese gunboat patrols off Macao are reinforced. On the 20th, NCNA announces that the Port. authorities have been "compelled" to accept

the demands but warns that "the Chinese departments concerned and the masses of Chinese" will be watching closely for implementation of the demands. "If you talk one way and act another,... (etc.) you will be doubly punished." IZVESTIYA steps in on Dec 23 with an I. Gavrilov article says that "Peking did not use this opportunity to put an end to Port. rule in Macao" because the Macao operation is so profitable for the Chinese. "The conciliation with the Port. colonialists in Macao serves as additional proof that Peking's talk about the need to fight colonialism does not correspond to its deeds." Radio Moscow continues the same line on the 24th.

December 4: PEOPLE'S DAILY devotes entire front page to a Nov. 28 rally of 20,000 "revolutionary militants in the field of literature and the arts" at which it was announced that: (1) Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, had been appointed advisor on cultural work in the Army; and (2) the Army has taken over the major performing arts companies — the Peking Opera, the Philharmonic, the State Song and Dance Ensemble, etc. Chiang Ching's criticism of past errors and difficulties (treated as main event of rally) reveals that (1) CR initially hindered by opposition in old Propaganda Dept, Culture Ministry, and Peking City Committee; (2) some CR work teams hastily organized and sent out without Mao's permission; (3) Red Guard movement not well controlled; and (4) by implication, adherents of Mao line are in a minority, — a point of great sensitivity in the Party. Also implies dissatisfaction with new Propaganda Dept chief and CR leader Tao Chu by conspicuously omitting his name when praising comrades for support.

Czech CTK reports from Peking on new posters and RG press items revealing that "the RG and revolutionary students will form an <u>alliance with workers and farmers</u> to wage merciless war against the bourgeois reactionary line."

December 5: NYTIMES Moscow correspondent Anderson describes accounts in Soviet Central Asian press of measures being taken in the border areas to "sharpen military preparedness among the peoples of the SU's three Central Asian republics that border on China."

December 6: Communist Chirese diplomats walk out of a Kremlin ceremony marking the 25th anniversary of the Battle of Moscow when city Party chief Yegorichev condemns "the two-faced policy being pursued by China."

French CP daily L'HUMANITE article by senior theoretician Duclos denounces and deplores Chinese CR (in midst of Kosygin visit to France).

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"issued orders in the name of the Party CC and spread damaging poison throughout the country," and "must bear the responsibility for the past 50 days." MAINICHI's Peking correspondent adds that this "is taken here to indicate an imminent purge of the two," and that the fact that Tao made the charge indicates that "he is the most likely candidate to replace Teng as GenSecy."

The Soviet Govt announces 8.2% increase in next year's military budget UPI cites U.S. officials as attributing the increase to concern over border tensions with China.

December 16-26: Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE on the 16th carries an article credited to the Soviet agency NOVOSTI based on "reports from Singapore" on the great expansion of ComChinese trade with non-Communist countries including the racist South African Republic and Rhodesia and "sworn enemy" America. "Such is the logic of those who are fighting imperialism only with words." On the 19th Moscow Radio Peace and Progress broadcasts an item based on "world press" — apparently the Bloodworth piece from Singapore for the London OBSERVER — about China furnishing the U.S. with steel for its needs in the Vietnam war, via Hong Kong. IZVESTIYA carries the Bloodworth article on the 20th. Peking in an NCNA authorized statement (D 26) severely refutes the shameless rumor."

Peking expels three of the six Soviet correspondents in China for spreading "rumors and slanders about China's GPCR." Moscow protests on the 23rd that it is "an unprecedented act in relations between socialists states," but complies. (See D 30 arrival in Moscow.)

December 17: The Japanese Police Agency publishes a 6-chapter report, "The Security Situation, Review and Outlook," on the JCP and other leftist and rightist movements in Japan. It says that "the JCP is expanding rapidly, its membership reaches almost 250,000 at present."

December 17-20: NCNA publicizes on the 17th statement of the "Afro-Asian Writers Bureau" meeting in Peking, "strongly condemning the Soviet revisionist-directed Cairo preparatory meeting for the bogus 'Third A-A Writers Conference.'" On the 30th, NCNA releases a similar statement issued in Peking by "the Secretariat of the A-A Journalists Association," -- "firmly supporting" the AAWB statement.

December 18: Poland's priests read from the pulpits a statement by the bishops warning that the government's demand that four seminaries be closed is the beginning of a wider campaign threatening the existence of the Church in Poland.

December 19: TANYUG Peking reports the first poster attacks on Liu Ning-yi, chairman of the All-China Trade Union Federation.

(Chrono Cont.)

December 19-20: A Czech Party plenum produces a statement that, "in accord with many fraternal parties, it considers that recent events ... demand accelerated preparations" for an international meeting "with the widest possible circle of FPs."

December 20: Czech CTK Peking reports new posters demanding the "liquidation" of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, and attacking for the first time Politburo member Marshall Ho Lung. CTK says that foreign observers in Peking see this as indicating that Liu and Teng still have strong support at the top.

Albanian Party daily ZERI I POPULLIT publishes an 18,000-word "programmatic pamphlet of the Soviet Revolutionary Communists-Bolsheviks." The brief introductory note says that it was "distributed throughout the Soviet Union some time ago" and that, "having received it with some delay for understandable reasons of difficult communications," and "after having removed some passages, we publish this important document" in which "the Soviet Bolsheviks, continuers of the revolutionary traditions of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, unmask the K. revisionist gang and launch an appeal to fight against it regardless of any sacrifice." It begins by acknowledging that:

"...The documents of the CCP and the Albanian Workers Party show throughout the road of concessions and of the betrayal of the interests of the social revolution on which the leadership of the CPSU embarked after the death of Stalin. Consequently, we ourselves will frequently elaborate and repeat the theses of the Chinese and Albanian comrades..."

Space precludes extensive review of this interesting document, but we quote a few of the most colorful passages:

- "...If one compares Stalin with K, one cannot help thinking of Marx, who said that history repeats itself twice, the first time in the form of tragedy and later in the form of comedy... K is nothing more than a parody....
- "... All those who now try to <u>disguise Lenin as Jesus Christ</u> should understand these words of Lenin --'We are <u>revolutionaries</u> on the side of the proletariat....'

"And here we will dwell on the question of the 'persecution' carried out by Stalin. Gentlemen opportunists attempting to disguise the social base of these persecutions try to present Stalin as a man who feared rivalry, arrested and executed everyone he regarded as a man of spirit. Undoubtedly, this is completely unfounded.... The revisionists ... have never seriously tried to understand the motives of these persecutions....

... Were there unjustified victims during the persecutions? We think there may have been, but whose fault was that? In the first place, the blame lies with the bureaucracy itself....

Stalin's attitude toward the excesses of that time are best seen in the fact that he had his Commissar for Internal Affairs, Yezhov, shot, solely for bureaucracy during the purges...(!)

"Look at the Soviet bureaucrats. Can there, here at home, be any real reelection of any responsible person; reelection not from the top -- by bureaucratic means -- but from the bottom by democratic method?

Can there be any doubt about the total degeneration of the bureaucracy and of the total elimination by it of all forms of social life and socialist conscience when one looks closely at our daily life today? A complete lack of any enthusiasm among the masses, complete indifference to work, social life transformed into a farce, the complete domination of selfish principles, the crushing of everything living, active, fresh — that is the sum total of the domination of the bureaucratic order....

But the Soviet bureaucrat is not a real bourgeois either, social conditions not allowing him to be one. He is an absurd paradox connected with the bourgeoisie... This is why he whole-heartedly endeavors to follow the "Western" way of life.... In private he surrounds his tortured soul with the ideas of the dregs of the bourgeois world and sees films which, because of their corruptive content, are banned even in bourgeois Europe. It is precisely from such ground that such avowed traitors to the homeland as Penkovsky arise....

- ... One cannot but laugh when one hears them (the CPs of capitalist countries) boasting about their success, which they measure by the growth in the number of party members. If they only complement their program with the thesis that the founder of Communism was Jesus Christ, they will create a real possibility for having even the Pope in their ranks....(!)
- ... To overthrow the bureaucratic order in the USSR, the revolutionaries must be organized... Obviously the new and truly proletarian party can only be the Communist Bolshevik Party of the SU reborn....
- ... The hour has struck. From numerous and separate cells of the CP-Bolshevik of the SU to their fusion in a mighty lava which will sweep away the bureaucrats that is the way the Soviet Communists must go.... Need it be said that heroes will be born out of this struggle?...

Long live the Bolshevik CPSU! Let our friends and enemies in the whole world know: in Russia Bolshevism is rising from the ashes like a phoenix! We Bolsheviks fully understand how complex are the tasks that lie before us, but we shall go even to death and torture blessing them.

Lenin's thought is with us; Stalin's will is with us; the great heart of our people is with us. We are invincible!..."

December 20-27: Premier Kosygin makes the first official visit ever by a Soviet Govt leader to traditionally hostile Turkey. He gets a cool reception but conducts himself astutely, says the right things in support of Soviet policy on Cyprus, expresses regret and lack of responsibility for recent Czech sale of weapons to the Greek Cypriots, and draws generally favorable press comment.

December 21: AFP's Hanoi correspondent Jean Vincent suggests that the texts of this year's official pronouncements on the 6th anniversary of the NLFSV, when compared with those of 1965, reflect Hanoi's distaste for Chinese refusal to participate in a united front and indicate that the N. Vietnamese position is approaching that of N. Korea — "whose leader, Kim Il-song, devoted one-quarter of his speech at a recent party congress to criticism of the Soviet Union and three-quarters to criticism of China — though without mentioning either by name."

December 22: East German ADN reports from Vienna that Austrian CP chairman Muhri, in a report to the CC, urged the convening of a world party conference.

December 23: Japanese CP daily AKAHATA declares that the JCP is opposed to a world CP meeting in 1967 because "conditions for holding such a meeting have not ripened."

TANYUG Peking reports a poster alleging that former Army chief of staff Lo Jui-ching has been arrested.

December 24: East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article by Max Friedrich criticizes veteran Italian CP theorist Lombardo Ricci for propounding his thesis of "open Marxism" on West German TV. After taking issue with a series of R's views, F. concludes:

"... We would not attach too much importance to the representatives of 'open Marxism',... had they not appeared on Germany territory. What R does at home is his own affair, -- that is, of the M-Ls of his country. Here, however, ... it is our duty to ask whether members of <u>frateral parties</u>, when they appear in West Germany, have really nothing better to do than attack German M-L..."

December 26: PEOPLE'S DAILY editorial, "Welcome the HIgh Tide of the CR in the Industrial and Mining Enterprises," declares that "support

for the GPCR in the ind. and mining enterprises is not an optional or trifling matter. The revolution must be carried out, and in a vigorous manner..."

Japanese correspondents in Peking report new posters saying that Liu Shao-chi made a self-criticism at a "CC work conference" on 23 November and that Teng Hsiao-ping had done so on 23 October. However, the poster denounces Liu's self-criticism as superficial and not at all serious.

TANYUG Peking reports loudspeaker trucks branding Liu and Teng as leaders of the so-called black or anti-Mao line. "Mobile loudspeakers also blared out the latest from Mrs. Mao, Chiang Ching, who demanded that all opponents of her husband's thinking be immediately arrested." TANYUG adds that it is clear that "a considerable majority of the oldest and best-known cadres from the top Party bodies still do not actively support the 'revolutionary minority' in the CR."

<u>December 27</u>: PEOPLE'S DAILY (and other organs) features several attacks on "the towering crimes of Yang Han-sheng, chieftain of Chou Yang's anti-party clique," who "usurped the post of secretary of the party organizations attached to the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and other leading positions."

Taipeh CNA announces that "Chi Shui-sheng, 19, of northeast China, is the first cadre of the militant RG to flee to freedom." After participating in the Nov. 3 RG rally in Peking (Taipeh calls it Peiping), he was instructed to go to Canton to take part in a series of long marches. From there he fled to Hong Kong and to Taipeh, "carrying many Chinese Communist documents."

<u>December 28</u>: TASS and Reuters report from Peking that a RG paper reveals the arrest of former Defense Minister Peng Te-huai on Dec. 24.

Peking reports jubilation over a successful <u>new nuclear explosion</u> in western China. Moscow gives it a single sentence.

December 28 and Jan 2: NCNA announces from the port of Dairen that "the Soviet SS Zagorsk, which violated China's harbor regulations and acted contemptuously toward China's sovereignty was today ordered to leave China. Describing an altercation between the ship's captain and the Chinese harbor pilot, NCNA adds that: "Deliberately enlarging the incident, the representative of the Soviet Embassy in China openly supported this arrogant and unreasonable big-nation chauvinist attitude of the Soviet captain."

TASS on Jan. 2 publicizes a statement of the Soviet Maritime Ministry charging that the Chinese authorities "unlawfully detained" the Zagorsk on Dec. 8 and held her until the 28th on the "absolutely groundless charges that the Soviet ship had 'violated regulations.'"

It gives the Soviet version of "what really happened," diametrically contradicting the Chinese story.

December 29: Soviet Army daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) editorial "On Events in the CPR and the PLA," states that "The men of the USSR armed forces, like all Soviet people, cannot fail to be concerned and disturbed by the policy of the CCP leadership... Mao Tse-tung and his supporters have ... declared the CPSU and USSR to be 'enemy No. 1'—against which they intend, so to speak, to 'wage struggle to the end!... The CCP leaders are trying to make the Army a blind weapon of their anti-Leninist, anti-Soviet, and great-power course.... Even a mere manifestation of sympathy for the SU by Chinese servicemen is viewed ... as national betrayal...."

TANYUG Peking reports the city "flooded with slogans against one of the most prominent leaders of the CR," Tao Chu, who is called "the new representative of the bourgeois-reactionary line," -- a "senational and unexpected turn." It adds that "many more workers were noted in the RG processions today,... a new element in the current trend."

Tokyo YOMIURI reports on a new Dec. 15 CCP directive to spread the CR to farm villages and to organize RG with poor and lower middle-class peasants. Tokyo JIJI adds that Vice Premier Teng Tzu-hui, Second vice premier Chen Yun, and Agricultural Minister Liao Lu-yen, the first two implicated in Liu Shao-chi's self-criticism, were severely denounced at a Dec. 28 rally for serious errors in agricultural policy. ASAHI adds that new RG wall papers denounce Chen Yi and Hu Chiao-mu, author of A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CCP.

Albanian Party daily ZERI I POPULLIT 10,000-word editorial hotly defends the Chinese CR: "Why the Imperialist-Revisionist Chorus attacks the CCP and the GPCR With Rage."

Radio Djakarta's "Gentlemen on Mainland China" program denounces Peking mass media dissemination of a "so-called statement on Dec. 22 by the self-styled SecyGen of the Indonesian Organization for Afro-Asian Solidarity, Ibrahim Isa, who is a collaborator refugee from Indonesia." "The CPR dreamed that one day it could become master of Indonesia. But only remnants of the PKI are left now and ... the CPR should not dream that by using these imposters -- Ibrahim Isa, Djawoto, and their followers -- as stooges to carry out Peking's propaganda and agitation, the CPR will still be able to achieve its goal..."

<u>December 30:</u> Belgrade Radio's <u>Moscow</u> correspondent Sundic reports that several thousand M Moscovites met the expelled Soviet journalists at the railway station, "the <u>first public anti-Chinese demonstration</u>, but probably not the last:"

"Relations with China have reached a stage where <u>much graver</u> incidents ... can be expected. Incidents of another kind are

more and more being talked about, such as possible provocative Chinese actions on the Soviet border..."

Tirana Radio broadcasts to Poland excerpts from "the document of the Provisional CC of the Polish CP published recently in LA VOIX DU PEUPLE, organ of the Belgian CP." It begins: "In recent years the situation in our country has decidedly worsened...."

December 31: TANYUG Peking reports new posters describing a rally of 100,000 people the day before which publicly denounced Liu and Teng and sent a letter to Mao demanding final and shattering blows against them.

Former Tito comrade and Vice President Milovan <u>Djilas is released</u> from Yugoslav prison after serving half of his latest 9-year sentence.

January 1: PEOPLE'S DAILY features a joint editorial with RED FLAG, "Carry the GPCR Through to the End." Repeatedly referring to the "handful of people in authority in the Party and taking the capitalist road," it admits that they "stubbornly persist ... and are not reconciled to their defeat."

"Why were these persons who persist in the bourgeois reactionary line able for a time to hoodwink some people? They made use of the high prestige enjoyed by Chairman Mao.... They also made special efforts to spread the idea that people should obey the leadership of their immediate superiors unconditionally and in disregard of principle. Such an idea in essence advocates blind obedience and slavishness, and and it is opposed to M-L, Mao Tse-tung's thought." (!)

It announces that "a new situation has developed in China's GPCR."

"Vast numbers of workers and peasants have arisen. They are breaking through all obstacles to establish their own revolutionary organizations and they have plunged into the movement of the GPCR.... The GPCR must go from the offices, schools, and cultural circles to the factories and mines and the rural areas so that all positions are captured by Mao Tse-tung's thought..."

Acknowledging that "some <u>muddleheaded people</u>" think that the CR might <u>impede production</u>, it declares that "historical experience" shows that "production makes big headway wherever the CR is successful."

"The mass movement in factories and mines and the rural areas for the GPCR is an <u>irresistible</u> historical trend. Any argument or person standing in the way of this trend will be <u>swept</u> onto the rubbish heap by the revolutionary masses...."

January 2: Cairo announces Soviet agreement to furnish 650,000 tons of wheat within the coming year, a fourth of the UAR's import needs.

Three Poles escape from a group touring Venice and request political asylum.

1089 EUR.

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#### FINLAND:

Soviets Still Critical of Social Democrats

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SITUATION: When the Finnish Social Democratic Party (SDP) formed a coalition government last May (see BPG Item #1026 of 6 June: "West European Communists Stress Popular Front Tactics: The Case of Finland") Soviet and other Communist propagandists mouthed pious hopes that this would open up a new era in Moscow-Helsinki relations, which had been clouded in the past by continuing Soviet criticism of SDP leaders and policies.

An article in the September 1966 issue of the internationally distributed WORLD MARXIST REVIEW (attached), for example, reviewed the details of the unsuccessful efforts of the Finnish Communist Party (FCP) to coperate with the SDP since shortly after World War II. It concluded by declaring that it would henceforth be the task of the FCP "to see to it that the incipient cooperation with the Social Democrats is strengthened and developed all the way to joint struggle for socialist aims."

Continuing this wooing of the Finnish Socialists, the 21 September 1966 issue of Moscow's NEW TIMES published a report on the impressions of a group of Soviet tourists who visited Finland during the summer, including this passage of comment on the "improved" atmosphere which had been observed since the FCP was taken into the government for the first time since 1948:

"This sense of political realism finds concrete expression in the strong desire of the overwhelming majority of the people, and also of farsighted political and public leaders, for friendship and co-operation with the Soviet people... With the formation of a government representing the country's democratic forces, Finnish public opinion now hopes for closer friendly relations with neighboring countries, first among them the Soviet Union, and for the strengthening of Finland's peaceable foreign policy."

Less than 12 weeks later, however, Moscow's PRAVDA shattered these dreams of friendship and cooperation by publishing an article which criticized the November congress of the SDP for having failed to "reach decisions which would express the desire of many Finnish Social Democrats to turn the party's policy decisively on a new road and to renounce everything old which has kept the party backward and has brought its policy closer to the anti-Communist policy of reactionary circles in Finland and abroad."

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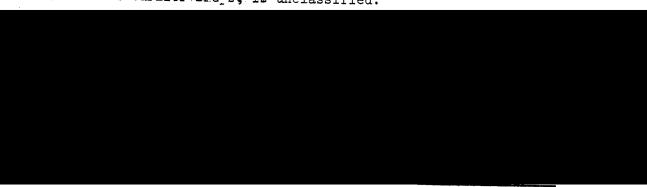
(The text of the PRAVDA attack, as broadcast by Radio Moscow in Finnish, is attached. The printed version of the article is almost exactly the same as the broadcast version with the addition of explanatory passages [for the Soviet domestic audiences] such as one in the penultimate paragraph which describes the "Honka alliance," which the SDP helped to form, as a group representing the "forces of extreme right reaction.")

Several stands which the SDP took at its November 1966 congress came in for particular criticism in PRAVDA: failure of the SDP to condemn West German "revanchism," failure to disassociate itself from the pro-Western line of the Socialist International (see BPG Items #1027 of 6 June 1966 "The Socialist International Breaks Its European Shell" and #997 of 14 March 1966 "The Socialist International Congress: Stockholm 5-8 May 1966"), and refusal to align itself with the Finnish "peace movement."

Aside from Soviet unhappiness over statements made at the SDP congress, the PRAVDA attack probably reflects the annoyance of the Soviet Government and the CPSU over the failure of Finnish Prime Minister Rafael Paasio, who is also Chairman of the SDP, to give in to the Soviets' pressure. When Paasio was chosen to lead the Socialist, Communist, and Agrarian coalition government last May he was considered a compromiser, but he has turned out to be a tough-minded politician who has kept the FCP members of the Cabinet under fairly tight control. Furthermore, Paasio refused to accede to the Soviet proposal for party-to-party contacts between the SDP and the CPSU. In November the Soviets were reportedly disturbed by the Finnish Prime Minister's decision not to have talks with CPSU leaders but only with government officials while he was visiting Moscow.

A further development was reported in the 25 December WASHINGTON STAR (attached). The STAR article notes that SDP "also failed to declare" for the reelection of President Urho Kekkonen in 1968 "as the Soviets would have wished." It goes on to observe that the left-wing Socialist splinter party headed by Justice Minister Simonen, which had formed an electoral alliance with the Communists in last March's elections, has called its SDP colleagues unfit to govern.

The material in this "Situation" section, with the exception of references to earlier BPG's, is unclassified.





#### REFERENCES

NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSE COURANT, 20 December 1966, "Paasio Under Pressure" (attached)

NEW YORK TIMES, 2 January 1967, "Party in Finland Wary of Moscow" (p. 18 of 3 January PRESS COMMENT)

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AEROFLOT: ECONOMIC COST AND POLITICAL SUBVERSION

\* \* \* \* \*

SITUATION: (Unclassified except where noted) The Free World activities of the USSR's Aeroflot have expanded rapidly and continuously since 1955, and technical assistance to developing countries in the establishment of air transport has been a significant feature of the Soviet Bloc aid program. These activities have undoubtedly yielded gains: prestige has been enhanced by the extension of the Soviet presence; some savings in hard currency have been effected; the potentials for intelligence operations and economic-political penetration have expanded substantially. On the other hand, the poor performance of Aeroflot and Soviet aircraft in many countries offsets some of the advantage gained; indeed, unfavorable comparisons of Soviet and Free World air transport and aircraft have had a negative over-all effect in some countries. (Unclassified attachment contains details.)

The international expansion of Aeroflot has been dramatic. Before 1955, Aeroflot's operating sphere was limited to the Bloc countries. By 1960 it had spread out beyond the Bloc, mainly to Western European capitals; between 1960 and 1965 its network doubled as the USSR concentrated on obtaining air agreements with the less developed countries of Asia and Africa; and in 1966 a further expansion by 10 to 20 percent was achieved by new agreements which included routes to Canada, the US,\* and Switzerland. The USSR now has air agreements with 54 countries, and

<sup>\*</sup>The agreement with the US does not represent a radical new step for Aeroflot; it differs little from the agreement which had been initialed by the US and USSR governments in 1961 but, because of growing tensions over Berlin, not signed at that time. The earliest interest in a civil air agreement by both governments was officially expressed in 1958.

serves more than 40 of them with its total network of about 60,000 nautical miles.\*

Aeroflot is currently attempting to expand its operations to Japan, Latin America, and Africa. The Soviets are experiencing their greatest frustration in Africa. Largely because of Sudanese firmness (Secret) they have been unable to extend their present routes to the south from Khartoum. Furthermore, the Soviets' effort to set up a flight to Brazzaville via Conakry and Accra received a set-back when the inaugural flight crashed on takeoff in February 1966. In addition, Aeroflot's operations in Ghana were suspended after Nkrumah's overthrow.

In the realm of economic aid, the Soviets have been selling aircraft and providing technical training to the developing countries. Prices of Soviet planes are more modest than the roughly comparable Free World models, repayment terms are longer, and interest rates are lower.\*\* In addition, the Soviets train pilots and maintenance men in the USSR, and also send teams of 10 to 20 air line operation specialists to developing countries; reportedly, these services are offered at a discount, and sometimes the first 6 months or year of service is provided by the Soviets free of charge. The African countries are the major targets of the Soviets' economic aid efforts.

Aeroflot's international operations are undoubtedly heavily subsidized by the Soviet government. Available data on load factors\*\*\* indicate that Soviet international flights have been operating at well under the 50% level, which Western air lines generally accept as the breakeven point for such operations. In addition, the heavier Soviet craft, most of which were modelled after Soviet air force bombers, are more expensive to operate and also have a far shorter useful life than Free World aircraft. (See further details on economic aspects of Soviet air operations in treatment).

Other Soviet motivations, however, are obviously strong enough to outweigh the economic burden of losses in international air activities. The political prestige value of displaying advanced industrial power is

<sup>\*</sup>Aeroflot does not have lines to West Germany and Turkey; however, several Bloc air lines have flights to Frankfurt, and Czechoslovakia has flights to Ankara.

<sup>\*\*</sup>List prices are lower and, reportedly, discounts are made in accordance with political considerations so that Soviet planes can cost around half as much as Free World models; however, the usual differential is not that great. Repayment terms are reportedly 8 years or longer at interest rates as low as 2½%. In spite of such inducements, Western countries have not been buying Soviet transport planes because of their exceptionally high operating costs.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>Percentage occupancy of seating capacity.

recognized by Free World observers. Less obvious, however, are the other interests which the Soviets can serve through their air activities. For example, economic and political leverage on developing countries can be maintained and broadened through reliance on Soviet equipment and knowhow. Of particular value to the Soviets is the potential expansion of support for intelligence operations.

Aeroflot provides excellent cover for Soviet intelligence officers. It is well-known in international air line circles that most of the Aeroflot agents in foreign countries are intelligence officers. With minimum official duties -- sometimes being responsible for only one flight a week -- Aeroflot agents have abundant time to pursue a broad spectrum of intelligence objectives. Their job affords them good opportunities to contact the host countries' military officers and political figures. An example of political involvement was seen in the unsuccessful meddling by the Soviets in the Ceylonese elections of March 1965, involving Aeroflot agent V.L. Kurin, whose earlier activities indicated that he was an intelligence officer. The Soviets' election activities were widely publicized and as a result one well-known Soviet intelligence officer, Second Secretary K.M. Shalkharov, was asked to leave Ceylon; but Kurin was permitted to stay. Another example of Aeroflot-covered intelligence operations involved S.S. Petrov. Petrov was denied a visa to return to France in February 1965, according to the French press, because of the evidence that he had been engaged in industrial espionage.

Aeroflot can also provide communications and logistical support for clandestine activities. For instance, Aeroflot has supported insurrections in Laos and the Congo, conducting airdrops and carrying arms and 25X1C10b ammunition falsely labeled as Red Cross supplies.



<sup>\*</sup>US planes also hauled more than 2½ times more ton-miles of air freight than did Soviet planes.

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OUSTED DURING 1966

COMMUNIST OFFICIALS ABROAD

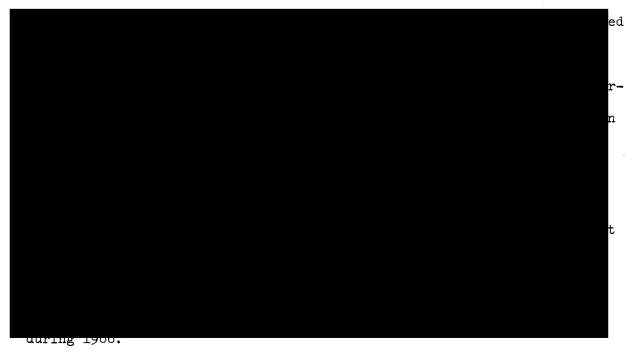
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SITUATION: The year 1966 revealed once more the world-wide spread of Communist subversion; some 68 Communist officials serving abroad were declared personnae non gratae by their hosts and sent home. A substantial number was kicked out of Ghana in the aftermath of Nkrumah's overthrow: a total of 29, including 20 Soviets, 4 Cubans, 2 East Germans, and 3 Chicoms. Kenya accounted for 12.

Since these incidents have been and continue to be important subjects for propaganda play, particularly in coverage of new cases as they crop up, it will be useful for field stations to have on hand a brief digest of recent cases for reference purposes. Accordingly, an unclassified attachment accompanies this guidance listing all cases in which representatives from Communist nations have been overtly asked to leave by their host governments during 1966. The names are grouped by country of origin and listed alphabetically within these groupings. A short description of the reason for the subject's ouster is given, as well as his position and the country from which expelled.

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Prague, Czechoslovakia

September 1966

## Finland: Co-operation Among the Democratic Forces

**CPYRGHT** 

ONSIDERABLE changes have taken place latterly in Finland's political scene. A new situation has emerged as a result of developments over a relatively long period, in particular the evolution of the international situation and to no less an extent the fact that the general line pursued by the world Communist movement has deprived the anti-communists of their weaponry.

Throughout the post-war period the support enjoyed by the People's Democratic Alliance, the main force in which is the Communist Party, has remained stable with 20-30 per cent of the electorate backing it at the polls. In 1945-48 we were in the government the leadership. For one thing, a new chairman was elected. Both with the Social Democratic and Agrarian parties. These three the party and its parliamentary group made a re-appraisal of their groups have invariably been the biggest in the country.

Democratic Party alone took over the administration. Soon, how-to favour good relations with the Soviet Union based on mutual ever, it was joined by the Agrarians in a coalition which lasted until confidence. 1959, when foreign policy considerations impelled the Social Democrats to go into opposition.

Since 1954 we have been working to achieve co-operation and and the working class of Finland. unity of action with the Social Democrats. In that year the Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a call for united action, declaring its readiness to work together with the Social Democrats for a policy meeting the interests of the working people. This appeal found an eager response in the trade unions and in the factories, where discontent was mounting with the Social Democratic policy of raising prices and freezing wages to serve the purposes of big capital, a policy which led to the general strike of 1956. Demonstrating the unity of the working class, this strike action alarmed the Rights and Impelled the anti-communists and other reactionaries to combine. The Social Democratic Party itself was split.

In 1957 Tanner, the leader of the Right-wing Social Democrats, notorious for his opposition to good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union and his record, was again elected chairman of his party.

In general elections of the following year the People's Democratic Alliance won a resounding victory, securing 50 seats out of 200. The Social Democrats in parliament split and an opposition Social Democratic parliamentary group was formed. Later this group evolved into an independent party.

The workers' parties had the majority in the newly-elected parliament. The leadership of the SDP headed by Tanner, however, would not hear of any co-operation with the Communists. In view of this totally blind anti-communist stand, we redoubled our efforts to bring our united action policy home to the masses. We found a wide response among the Social Democratic following as well.

The Rights in the trade union movement and the SDP leadership bent every effort to prevent the growth of Communist influence, to isolate us and to split the unions. A new trade union body supported by big business and by Social-Democratic West European trade union centres and the leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was established in 1960, but it failed to win appreciable support among the workers. It remained a splinter group pursuing narrow partisan and anti-communist ends.

Then, in 1961, the SDP leaders and the bourgeois extreme Right made a desperate effort to channel Finland's home and foreign policy on to the lines of the "thirties". On the eve of the presidential election of 1962 they entered into an electoral bloc in order to defeat President Kekkonen and to install an ultra-Right instead. The attempt failed. The Social Democrats were defeated in the general election as well,

In the long run these manipulations gave rise to sharp criticism in the SDP, and the party's convention in 1963 made changes in policy, taking a firmer stand against the capitalist government. After we were forced out of the government in 1948 the Social Foreign policy, too, was re-examined and the SDP began officially

> All in all this record of the attempts made to steer the SDP along anti-communist lines is an instructive one for all the political forces

What is the situation today?

The Social Democratic Party won a major victory in the elections of last March and emerged as the biggest party in the country. The workers' parties taken together gained the majority in parliament (103 seats). This put the Right-wing Social Democrats in a different position. Fruitful co-operation in government without the bourgeoisie was now a tangible possibility.

During the election campaign we underscored the need for co-operation between the workers' parties, stressing that only if they won the majority and worked in a spirit of co-operation was it possible to effect a change of policy in a direction favourable to the working class. A similar view was taken by some prominent SDP leaders. For instance, Väinö Leskinen, formerly known as an anti-communist and one of those who were not elected to the Party leadership in 1963, spoke already before the elections in favour of co-operation between the Social Democrats and Communists. Today, too, he is influential, especially among the Social Democratic youth and students. Besides Leskinen there are other SDP leaders who believe that the party should avoid repeating the mistakes of the "fifties", that it should work out a new political line, and that this can be done in co-operation with the Communists.

It is believed that at least 80 per cent of the Social Democratic Party membership are for co-operation with the Communists in the government. The majority of the members of the Agrarian Union (now Centre Party) are inclined to take the same view.

The new government was formed towards the end of May, following prolonged negotiations. The number of ministerial portfolios given to the People's Democrats did not correspond to the percentage vote - three instead of the four they should have received on the strength of their electoral support. The most difficult thing, however, was to reach agreement on a government programme. The programme finally worked out, apart from agricultural policy, corresponds to the interests of the working class and the majority of the nation in both the domestic and foreign policy spheres.

Most complex are the fiscal problems of the state, which is

experiencing grave difficulties as a result of the monopoly-inspired policy pursued over a long period of time. In order to get out of cerning, in particular, the engineering, chemical, wood-working and the red it is essential mainly to increase revenue, since the opportunities for cutting expenditure are rather limited. Reduction of military spending, which in Finland is comparatively low, cannot help much to re-establish equilibrium. Hence the government for housing construction in 1966-75. programme calls for increasing revenue mainly through taxation of the big companies and the high-income groups.

Briefly, our aims are the following: a foreign policy based on planning and management. peaceful coexistence; maintaining and strengthening good-neighreform.

programme for the immediate period. The following are the main in June-July 1966, was a notable event in this respect. points in this programme:

aimed at building up, on a national basis, a prosperous economy.

"These proposals have as their point of departure the following:

- "1. Parliament should exercise both direct and indirect democratic control over the economy, with the effective participation of the workers in management and genuine participation of the peasants in the work of the co-operatives and the conduct of their affairs.
- "2. The state sector in industry should be expanded both by building new state-owned enterprises and by nationalising monopoly-owned enterprises. The state-owned enterprises should play the leading role in economic development.

"3. Anti-monopoly control should be established over prices, investment and taxes in order to increase state accumulations essential for the development of the economy.

"4. The scientific and technological revolution calls for expanded research, improved training of specialists, increase of basic capital and expansion of production enterprises.

"5. In order to modernise the economy effective measures should be taken to ensure full employment at the existing enterprises and to provide new job opportunities.

"The most effective way to do this is through industrial development. Equally important are major hydrotechnical, road-building and irrigation projects and housing construction. Agriculture has unused potential which if utilised could retard growth of unemployment.

"6. The state should take measures to check the growing influence of foreign capital in the Finnish economy.

"7. The potential of non-monopoly private enterprise should also be utilised to promote economic development.

"8. It is imperative to promote public planning and to draw up on the basis of thorough research a plan of general development for our country."

The Communist programme contains specific proposals conpower industries. It recommends the building of an automobile plant and of a nuclear power station, improving quality of output in the wood-working enterprises, and sets forth the target figures

The programme calls for a reorganisation of state administration with a view to ensuring more effective state participation in economic

For about a year now we have been conducting negotiations bourly relations with the Soviet Union; an active peace policy; with the Social Democrats on restoring the organisational unity prevention of unemployment; accelerated economic development, of the trade union movement. We insist on ending the discriminaabove all by expanding government-controlled industry; more tion against the Communists, on equal representation and demohousing construction; balanced foreign trade; prevention of any cratic procedures. Since the election there has been greater underrise in prices; improved social security; fair taxation, and a school standing, and the Social Democrats in the trade unions are, increasingly, coming to see our viewpoint. The Congress of the The Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party, held in Central Trade Union Federation, the oldest trade union centre January-February this year, adopted an economic and political in the country, which we have supported against the splitters, held

Prior to this Congress only three of the seventeen members of "To combat the grip of the monopolies and the economic pro- the Federation's Executive were Communists. Now, however, grammes of big business our Party advances its own proposals with the Social Democrats taking a favourable stand towards co-operation with us, it was agreed to give the Communists bigger representation. In the election of officers a Social Democrat, Niilo Hämäläinen, was chosen as Chairman, and a Communist, Arvo Hautala, as Second Chairman. A Communist was elected Second Secretary of the Federation. With the exception of the election of the Chairman, all decisions were adopted unanimously.

Clearly, then, big changes have taken place in the Social Democratic movement. The anti-communists have lost ground. This opens up new opportunities in the struggle for the workers' interests, for extending democracy, for peace and for socialism.

The experience of the past twenty years shows that anti-communism and the alliance with the capitalist parties prompted by it can only spell defeat for the Social Democrats, reduce their following and split their ranks. This has compelled them to review their political line in regard to the Communists. It is our task to see to it that the incipient co-operation with the Social Democrats is strengthened and developed all the way to joint struggle for socialist aims.

Proceeding from the decisions of the Fourteenth Congress, we have taken steps to amend our programme and rules in keeping with the changed conditions and requirements. It is our purpose to define with the utmost precision our attitude to the existing democratic institutions, to the multi-party system and civil liberties generally both during the transition to socialism and after its triumph.

We believe that this will promote the growth of the socialist forces and facilitate co-operation among them in our country, where the objective conditions are exceptionally favourable for launching out on the road of socialist change.

Aarne Saarinen

## Approved For Release 1999/08/24: CIA-RDP78-03061A000400070006-6 Translation of broadcast by Radio Moscow

in Finnish at 1630 GMT on 12 December 1966

(Text) PRAVDA publishes today an article by its Helsinki correspondent entitled "At the Crossroads," dealing with the results of the 27th Congress of the Finnish Social Democrat Party. The correspondent states that the congress has aroused attention both in Finland and abroad. The article says:

The interest in the Finnish Social Democrat Party congress is fully understandable. Above all it can be explained by the fact that social circles had waited to see whether the congress would reach decisions which would express the desire of many Finnish Social Democrats to turn the party's policy decisively on a new road and to renowice everything old which has kept the party backward and has brought its policy closer to the anticommunist policy of reactionary circles in Finland and abroad.

The previous 1963 party congress started a critical revision of that political line, which in the past has created a party impasse. In the period between, the party congresses' demands were often heard within the Social Democrat Party for a complete revision of the party's foreign policy, to show by actions and not merely by words true readiness to support the Finnish foreign policy of friendship with the Soviet Union and to boldly throw aside prejudices toward the Finnish Communist Party and other progressive forces which more consistently stand for the interests of Finnish workers, for the national interests of the whole country, and for peace and social progress.

After taking certain forward steps in solving some questions, the congress did not, however, take those views into account, the writer of the article states. From the view point of Soviet social circles, one such forward step was the congress foreign political resolution which obliges the party leaders, the basic sections, the press, as well as its workers andmembers, to work actively and sincerely for the further development of Finnish-Soviet relations. A new feature for the Social Democrat Party was the demand of the congress that the United States should end its bombings of the DRV and its positive attitude toward the proposals for forming nuclear-free zones in northern Europe as well as toward the convocation of an international conference to discuss measures to guarantee European security.

No unprejudiced observer could help wondering why the congress rejected the proposal of a Social Democrat Party organization that the Finnish Social Democrat Party should join the Finnish Peace Defense Movement as a member organization and why the congress in its resolutions did not deal at all with the dangers created to the peace and security of European nations by West German revanchism.

It was apparently not accidental that the paper KANSAN LEHTI said during the congress that one must not close one's eyes to the danger of war, for instance, to the danger of arming West Germany with nuclear arms.

It is noteworthy that the congress this time did not even adopt a clear-cut stand or issue a resolution dissociating the SDP from the resolutions of the Socialist International Congress which are permeated with a belligerent spirit of anticommunism and direct support for the aggressive NATO alliance.

As the Finnish press has stated, such inconsistencies and contraditions also characterize the congress! decisions of questions of internal policy. The congress supported the work of the present Finnish Government. On this question it was expected that the congress would also explicitly express its views on ways for cooperation

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workers place great hopes in such cooperation. But the documents of the congress do not say one word about it. The congress approved many decisions on economic and social questions whose realization could promote an improvement in the position of the working people. However, it ignored the fact that the most important condition for carrying out these decisions is the wide cooperation of the workers, as the experience of the workers movement over the course of many years has shown.

It is true that the congress urged members of the Finnish Social Democrat Party, among other things, to energetically support efforts to consolidate the Finnish trade union movement. At the same time one cannot ignore the fact that the decision of the previous congress of the Finnish Social Democrat Party to support the disruptive federation of Finnish Trade Unions was not cancelled. This decision prevents the achievement of such unity.

The positions taken by the congress have aroused very lively comment in Finnish political circles. The congress did not define its views on the Finnish presidential election but left it to the party committee. This alerts Finnish social circles because they still have fresh memories of the Finnish Social Democrat Party's part in the formation of the so-called Honka-alliance before the last presidential election.

The Finnish press writes that the work of the whole congress and its decisions prove that the Finnish Social Democrat Party has remained at the crossroads, without having defined a new independent, political line which would be in keeping with the times. Judging by statements of Finnish social circles on the results of the congress, the Finnish Social Democrat Party still has a lot to do before its policy can enjoy the full confidence of those progressive circles and forces which steadfastly stand for real interests of the workers movement and of all working people, the PRAVDA article concludes.

## COALITION IMPERILED

December 25, 1966

Washington Star

CPYRGHT

# or Soviet Favor

By II. J. BARNES Special to The Star

Moscow are one of the most unsavory features of Finnish party politics.

When the broad four-party Democrats, the Center (Agrariconflict would be eliminated as parliament. the parties got down to the serious business of economic Democrats are the natural wark of peace." reform.

But as the divergent interests nists. of the parties in the government become more and more appar-crisis in relations with Finland ent, the competition to stand pat | and demanded military consulwith Moscow is breaking out tations in a successful attempt again.

It is one of several signs that the coalition, which is one of the the 1962 presidential election. most powerful in Finnish history, controlling 152 of parliament's 200 seats, is in danger of breaking up.

The stumbling block to smooth

COPENHAGEN, Denmark - Moscow by Social Democratic and the Soviet government, but Why the Simonites, with only

#### **Now Biggest Party**

In 1958 the Russians declared the Social Democrats unfit to sit coalition between the Social in the government and they were kept out of power until an) party, the Communists and they won a major victory in the the Left-Wing Socialists (Simon- March election. They gained 18 ites) was created last May it seats for a total of 55 and bewas hoped this aspect of party came the biggest party in

> The problem is that the Social enemies of the Finnish Commu-

In 1961 the Russians caused a to stop the chances of the Social Former Center Party leader Urho Kekkonen, was re-elected.

Democrats were smoothed out

by a party emissary last March, Simonen (hence Simonites), efforts to rationalize agriculture. co-operation is the presidential but they are breaking down leader of a splinter party that they are election in 1960 and the verse lease 1999/08/24 broke Archa Direction of the center party also wants election in 1960 and the verse lease 1999/08/24 broke Archa Direction of the center party also wants

Social Democratic party confer- | designed to settle once and for | Social Democratic colleagues ence last month and the visit to all relations between the party unfit to govern.

subject was never broached.

cratic conference, not all the resolutions were framed exactly sian pressure. as the Russians would have liked. In particular, the confer- vior could be an attempt to win ence did not reject a stand taken electoral favor in order to at the 1962 Oslo conference of prevent extinction at the next the Socialist International when election. the party supported a resolution alliance with the Communists which, among other things, enabled the party to obtain referred to NATO as a "bul-seven seats last spring.

The party also failed to declare for Kekkonen, as the Soviets would have wished.

#### Pravda Attack

On Dec. 12 Prayda launched ment policies. an attack on te Social Demorecalling the 1961 crisis.

Relations between the Social cudgels for their own ends.

of Justice Aare Minister

Attempts to curry lavor with Prime Minister Rafael Paasio. for some undisclosed reason, the seven seats in parliament, ever

joined the government is one of At last month's Social Demo- the mysterics of Finnish politics

> Motives for Simonen's beha-Only an electoral

#### Center Party Aims 🐰

A more serious threat to the coalition comes from the Center party, which has demanded new negotiations on some govern-

The Center party wants the Democratic candidate winning crats, in moderate tone, but Socialists to abandon rumored plans to nationalize the insur-Other members of the coalition ance business and to secure for have been quick to take up the cudgels for their own ends. itself permanent price regulations for agriculture—which for agriculture-which would hinder Social Democratic

ate trouble stems from the Paasio's visit to Moscow was crats in 1957, has called his dent.

#### PAASIO UNDER PRESSURE

Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant
Rotterdam, Netherlands, 20 December 1966

Even though the Finnish Parliament quickly approved the budget for the following year, the tensions in the coalition of Social Democrats, Left Socialists, Communists and the Agrarian Center Party are increasing constantly. The Left Socialist Simonen remains aloof from the prudent reorganization policy of the coalition, whereas he is also extremely critical of the foreign policy of the Social Democrats.

The Center Party has other problems. It has for years been the leading Government party and finds it less easy to adjust itself to second fiddle position. It feels that the left wing is dictating the policy and that is causing its uneasiness. Since the Government program, according to the Center Party, is not clear enough, new negotiations will be necessary. The Center Party would deny its agrarian basis if a new permanent price system would not head the request list, coupled to a revision of the tax system for agriculture. The Center Party thus announces that it will conduct a fierce struggle to prevent the left wing from nibbling too much at the subsidy adjustments for agriculture.

The Center Party is also disappointed about the endeavor of the Social Democrats to present their own candidate in the 1968 presidential elections. The Center had hoped that the Social Democrats would place themselves with the other parties behind the candidacy of Kekkonen, the present President of the Agrarian camp. However, at the recent Party Congress of the Social Democrats, the interest centered more around a candidate of their own, although a decision in this respect has been postponed.

From a tactical standpoint this postponement has great advantages, for when the time arrives the Social Democrats can demand a better political price for their support of Kekkonen. In any case, this postponement will prompt the Center Party to be more cautious.

The refusal of the Social Democratic Party Congress to place itself behind the candidacy of Kekkonen, has also been a disappointment for Pravda, in other words, for the Russian leadership. Throughout the years, Kekkonen has been the politician in whom the Kremlin had the greatest confidence. The Social Democrats' desire to present a candidate of their own is reminding Pravda of the last presidential elections when a coalition of rightwing socialists and extremist reactionary forces (one can recognize here the old terminology) put the neutral Honka in the field as opposition candidate.

This clearly seems to be a warning to the Social Democrats not to have dealings with "rightist" figures. This warning, by the way, was contained in a complex of objections against the Social Democrats. Even though the evil glance of Moscow put an end earlier this year to the exclusion of the Social

Democrats from the Government, the Simonens could report prior to the Party Congress that the Social Democratic face was not yet clean enough according to Moscow's views. And after the Congress that did not entirely take Simonen's warning to heart, <u>Pravda</u> can not state that it still has too many black spots.

Pravda will certainly appreciate some points of the resolutions by the Congress, such as the demand to the Americans to stop the bombings in North Vietnam, the support for an atom-free zone in Northern Europe, and the demand for a conference on European security.

However, if the Congress thought that it could appease Pravda by stating that the decisions of the Socialist International that conflict with Finland's interest are not binding for the Party, then it has been under an illusion. This part of the resolution related to the resolutions of the Socialist International of 1951 and 1962, which testified to a favorable attitude toward NATO and a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. Simonen had said already earlier that Moscow wished the Congress to stay aloof in this respect. This the Congress did. It kept its distance from NATO, but also, and that caused the Russians annoyance, from all other military front formations. That included the Warsaw pact.

Pravda is upbraiding the Party because it has not taken any decisive steps for the elaboration of a new political line that is considering the spirit of the time. The Finnish Social Democratic Party still is unwilling to let itself be hemmed in by the idea of the people's front, and that annoys Pravda. What matters in this respect is not only the exclusive condemnation of NATO, but also the refusal to abandon the old prejudices against the Communist Party and the refusal to join the Finnish peace movement collectively.

It has been learned from various sources that Paasio, the Finnish Prime Minister, has not been successful in bringing the relations of his Party with Russia on the right basis; he is even said to have refused to discuss Party questions with Russian leaders, but it is not yet clear whether this is an attempt to bring pressure on the Social Democrats or an indication of a new political exile.

## TApproved For Release 1999/08/24: CIA-RDP78-03061A000490070006-6 Chicago, Illinois

#### SOVIET INTERNATIONAL COMMERCIAL CIVIL AIR OPERATIONS

Until 1955 the Soviet airline Aeroflot's international routes stretched only to Communist countries. Since then the network has grown rapidly, and in the last six years it has more than doubled. It now totals about 60,000 nautical miles and serves more than 40 countries. Aeroflot schedules 82 international flights weekly, 52 linked with Free World countries and 30 with Communist countries. By international standards this operation is small. The Scandinavian Airlines System, a medium-size international airline schedules 386 flights weekly to and from cities outside Scandinavia.

To formalize its aviation relationships with Communist states and to secure aviation rights in Free World countries, the USSR began signing bilaterial air agreements in 1955. It now has air agreements with 54 countries. In 1955 most of the agreements signed were with Communist countries and during the next three years with the aviation powers of western Europe. As a result of these agreements Aeroflot flies into most of the capitals of Europe, and 19 foreign airlines fly into the USSR. Since 1960 the Soviets have concentrated on obtaining air agreements with the less developed countries of Asia and Africa.

1965 and the first quarter of 1966 was a period of frustration for the Soviets in Africa as they sought to extend their present routes into Africa further to the south. Air agreements were signed with Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, the Soviets have not been observed to have extended their air service any further south than Khartoum, Sudan. The Soviets attempted to extend their west African route to Brazzaville. However, the inaugural flight from Moscow to Brazzaville via Conakry and Accra crashed on takeoff, and nothing more has been heard about this proposed route.

One reason why Soviet representatives have had such trouble in Africa is the recognition by the Africans that Soviet competition would threaten the survival of their own budding airlines. Political obstacles also have impeded the Soviets. For example after the overthrow of Nkrumah, Aeroflot was expelled from Ghana, and the Soviets lost the route from Conakry to Accra.

The Soviets are becoming more active in Latin America and have been discussing with Brazil and Mexico the possibility of Aeroflot air services to these countries. So far, however, the Soviets have not succeeded in gaining a civil air agreement with any Latin American country except Cuba.

The Soviets also have been working for additional air rights in the industrial West and Japan. An air agreement between the USSR and Japan signed in January 1966 provides for the first direct scheduled route between Japan and Western Europe. The Japanese have agreed to a jointly operated service between JAL and Aeroflot, using only Soviet aircraft and flight crews for two years. The Soviets have promised that by the end of

the two-year period they will attempt to clear the way for the Japanese Air Lines to fly independently over Siberia. Snags have developed over the charter rates and revenue sharing, but both sides still hope to reach agreement on the financial arrangements in time to open the Tokyo-Moscow route in the spring of 1967, almost a year later than initially scheduled.

West Germany is one of the few countries in Western Europe that is still not serviced by Aeroflot. West German-Soviet neogitations for Frankfurt-Moscow civil air services have progressed to an advanced stage, but thus far have faltered over West German refusal to permit Aeroflot to include Berlin/Schoenefeld (located on East German territory) as an intermediate landing site.

The aircraft used on Aeroflot international routes are the TU-104, the IL-18, the TU-124, and the AN-12. The most widely used, but obsolescent TU-104 gradually is being phased out of service. The IL-18 4-engine turboprop is used on the longer routes. The TU-124 jets have assumed a larger role in the last two years and probably will be supplemented by the new TU-134 with its jet engines in the rear. The long-range TU-124 turboprop is the only Aeroflot model to make scheduled transatlantic flights — it has been flying to Havana regularly since late 1962. However, Aeroflot hopes to replace it with the more efficient IL-62, which is still not in production. The AN-12 is used on the only two all-cargo flights of Aeroflot, one to Paris and the other to Southeast Asia.

The prime objective of Aeroflot's international operations appears to be to enhance the Soviet presence abroad. However, Aeroflot's impact on a Western Europe already crowded with airflights and modern aircraft has been minimal. The impact has been more pronounced in the less developed countries where there are fewer manifestations of western technology. Even in Africa, however, one has only to look at the extensive network of Air France and BOAC and their associated airlines to realize that Aeroflot's four round trip flights a week to Africa comprise a small share of the total. In Conakry, Guinea, for example, out of 24 outbound flights a week, only one is by Aeroflot.

The Soviets get other benefits from Aeroflot international operations — the saving of foreign exchange that occurs when they transport Soviet nationals abroad in Soviet, rather than foreign, aircraft, the opportunity to transport agents or clandestine cargo with minimum observation by foreigners, and the use of Aeroflot representatives abroad as intelligence agents.

Profitability does not appear to be a significant Soviet objective. An analysis of passenger load factors on selected Aeroflot flights indicates that load factors range from 18 percent on the Belgrade-Tunis-Algiers-Rabat flight to 55 percent on the flight to Copenhagen. The average break-even passenger load factor for all international airlines is about 50 percent. It is apparent that the Aeroflot flights to Western Europe are considerably more profitable than those to other areas of the World.

Compared with other international airlines, Aeroflot does not get a high performance rating. Aeroflot flights are reasonably safe and adherence to flight schedules is reasonably good, but the performance of Soviet aircraft is inferior to that of western aircraft. The Aeroflot aircraft are more difficult to handle; fuel consumption is higher; and engine life is much shorter. Service to passengers abroad Aeroflot is decidedly inferior to the service on western airlines. Passenger comfort is also inferior. Cabins are noisier. Pressurization is erratic.

For the future Aeroflot aircraft and service can be expected to improve, but other international airlines are moving forward so rapidly that Aeroflot will not be any great threat to Western airlines for the foreseeable future.

3 (Aeroflot)

#### Expulsions - 1966

Country

Name

Position

Expelled from

ALBANIA

None

#### BULGARIA

1. KRISTANKOV, Zahari

Military Attache

Greece

Bulgarian Military Attache Zahari KRISTANKOV was arrested by Greek security officials on 3 November 1966 while he was holding a clandestine meeting with a Greek non-commissioned Army officer whom the Greek authorities had been surveilling for more than a month. Perceiving the approach of the security officials, KRISTANKOV attempted to flee in his automobile and was only stopped by police officers firing at the rear tires, thus immobilizing the automobile. He was released when he disclosed his identity and claimed diplomatic immunity, but was declared PNG by the Greek government that same day.

2. POPOV, Stefan

Commercial Representative

Colombia

It was announced in the Bogota press in October 1966 that Stefan POPOV, commercial representative in the Bulgarian trade mission in Colombia had been declared personna non grata and given four days to leave the country. He was accused of intervening in the internal affairs of Colombia and of giving unspecified aid to the subversive elements in that country. However POPOV appealed the order and was still in Colombia at year's end.

#### COMMUNIST CHINA

1. CHANG Chung-hsu, Embassy employee (also spelled CHANG Tsung-hsu)

Kenya

In March 1966, ten diplomats, correspondents, and commercial representatives from Communist nations were expelled by Kenya for attempting to subvert the government of that country. They included persons from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Communist China. While specific charges were not levied against individuals, the Minister of Home Affairs, Daniedarap Moi stated that more than £400,000 had been used by "certain individuals" to subvert the government. CHANG Chunghsu was declared PNG on 9 March and his colleague, YAO Ch'un, Third Secretary of the Chinese Communist Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, was PNG'd on 16 March.

2. CHU Kuei-yu

Second Secretary

Ghana

After the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah (24 February 1966) the National Liberation Council discovered massive evidence of subversive activities by Communist nations that had been carried on under the former dictator. These discoveries resulted in the departure from Ghana of nearly 1000 Soviets and about 250 Chinese. Of these, only 20 Soviets and 3 Chinese were officially declared PNG. The Chinese were CHU Kuei-yu, HU Ting-i, and TIEN Chang-sung, who were served with PNG notices on 14 March 1966 and given 48 hours to leave Ghana because they were "intelligence officers engaged in espionage."

3. HU Ting-i

First Secretary

Ghana

HU Ting-i, First Secretary of the Chinese Communist Embassy in Accra, Ghana, was declared PNG on 14 March 1966 and given 48 hours to leave the country. (See CHU Juei-yu above for further details.)

4. LI En-chiu

Chargé d'Affaires

Netherlands

LI En-chiu, Charge d'Affaires of the Chinese Communist Embassy at The Hague, Netherlands, was PNG'd on 19 July 1966 for implication in the abduction of the Chinese welding expert HSU Tzu-tsai from a hospital in The Hague. HSU Tzu-tsai had injured himself in attempting to defect and had been taken to a hospital for treatment, whence he was abducted by members of the Chinese Communist Embassy. He subsequently died.

5. TIEN Chang-sung

Attache

Ghana

TIEN Chang-sung, attache of the Communist Chinese Embassy in Accra, Ghana, was declared PNG on 14 March 1966 and given 48 hours to leave the country. (See CHU Kuei-yu, above, for further details.)

6. YAO Ch'un

Third Secretary

Kenya

YAO Ch'un was PNG'd from Nairobi, Kenya on 16 March 1966. His wife, WANG Ming-o, an English interpreter, was expelled with him. (See CHANG Chung-hsu, above, for further details.)

7. WANG Erh-k'ang

Second Secretary

Switzerland

WANG Erh-k'ang was declared PNG by the Swiss government on 24 March 1966 because of his contacts with JUO Yu-shou, Cultural Attaché of the Chinese Nationalist Embassy in Burssels, who was for years an agent of the Chinese Communists in Bern.

CUBA

1. MEWZA, Juan

Third Secretary

Ghana

On 24 September 1966 the four diplomatic officials of the Cuban Embassy in Accra, Ghana, were ordered to leave the country for interfering in the internal affairs of Ghana. They actually departed on Approved For Release 1999/08/24: CIA-RDP78-03061A000400070006-6

(Cont...)

30 September, at which time the Cuban Embassy was closed. Although it was not officially stated in the formal accusation against them, information leaked out that they had been involved in, among other things, conspiring to return Kwame Nkrumah to power in Ghana. The other persons involved were: Georgina PEREZ Puig, Gaspar VARONA Hanlen, and Antonio Lino VARONA Salgado.

2. PEREZ Puig, Georgina Charge d'Affaires

Ghana

Georgina PEREZ Puig was ordered to leave Ghana on 24 September 1966, and actually left on 30 September. (See Juan MEWZA, above, for further details.)

Third Secretary 3. VARONA Hanlen, Gaspar

Ghana

Gaspar VARONA Hanlen was PNG'd on 24 September 1966 from Accra, Ghana, and left on 30 September. (See Juan MEWZA, above, for further details.)

Third Secretary 4. VARONA Salgado, Antonio Lino

Ghana

Antonio Lino VARONA Salgado was expelled from Accra, Ghana, on 24 September 1966 and departed on 30 September. (See Juan MEWZA, above, for further details.)

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CARDA, Jan

Third Secretary

Kenya

On 15 March 1966 Jan CARDA was given 24 hours to leave Kenya because he had engaged in espionage activities inimical to the government of that country. His expulsion had been preceded, on 10 March, by that of Zdenek KUBES of the Czechoslovak news agency, CETEKA, and Stanislas KOZUBIK, Second Secretary of the Czech Embassy.

KOZUBIK, Stanislas

Second Secretary

Kenya

Stanislas KOZUBIK, Second Secretary of the Czech Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, was expelled from that country on 10 March 1966. He was accused of having engaged in activities inimical to the host government. Also ousted on the same date was Zdenek KUBES of the Czech news agency CTK. On 15 March Jan CARDA, Third Secretary of the Czech Embassy was also expelled.

3. KUBES, Zdenek CETEKA (Czech news agency) correspondent

Kenya

Zdenek KUBES was accused by Kenya of having engaged in activities inimical to that country, specifically of having planted in the local press an article unfriendly to the government of President Kenyatta. He was declared PNG on 10 March 1966. Also ousted on the same date was Stanislas KOZUBIK, Second Secretary of the Czech Embassy. On 15 March Jan CARDA, Third Secretary of the Czech Embassy was also expelled.

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(Cont.)

4. OPATRNY, Jiri

Attache

United States of America

Jiri OPATRNY was declared PNG by the U.S. Government on 13 July 1966 for having attempted to bribe a Department of State employee to plant a secret wireless transmitting device in the office of the director of the Office of Eastern European Affairs of the State Department. It was revealed the following day that the State Department employee had, with the approval of the FBI, pretended to cooperate with the Czech Embassy for more than five years as a secret agent. OPATRNY was given 3 days to leave the U.S.A. At the same time it was revealed that Zdenek PISK, the Czech diplomat who originally recruited the State Department employee, had left the U.S.A. in 1963 but had recently returned as First Secretary of the Czech United Nations Mission in New York City. When the U.S. Government informed the United Nations Secretariat of PISK's past espionage activities, he was returned to his homeland.

## 5. PISK, Zdenek First Secretary, Czech Mission to United Nations

U.S.A.

On 13 July 1966 the Department of State revealed that the Czech embassy in Washington had attempted to subvert a Department employee. The employee had reported the attempted recruitment to his superiors and had thereafter, for more than five years, pretended to cooperate with the Czechs. In 1961 he was "recruited" by Zdenek PISK, then Second Secretary of the Czech embassy, who returned to his homeland in 1963, after handing over the agent to Jiri OPATRNY, Attaché of the Embassy. In 1966 PISK returned to the United States with the Czech mission to the United Naitons in New York. When the details of the attempted espionage case were made public in July 1966, the UN Secretariat was informed of PISK's role in the case and he was then returned to Czechoslovakia. (See also note on Jiri OPATRNY, above.)

#### EAST GERMANY

1. APPEL, Heiner ADN (East German News Service) correspondent

Kenya

Heiner APPEL was declared PNG by the government of Kenya in February 1966 because of his "lavish entertainment" of Kenyan leftists with the ultimate aim of subverting the government.

2. GRAEFE, Karl-Heinz ADN (East German News Service) correspondent

Ghana

Karl-Heinz GRAEFE, a staff member of the ADN, was expelled from Ghana in November 1966 for subversive and other activities incompatible with the status of a journalist. According to an official Ghanaian statement, GRAEFE had sent and received secret messages and a search of his residence revealed an article which contained "wholly untrue statements" about Ghana, its aim being to "damage Ghana's reputation." The East German Trade Mission was also ordered closed at this time.

3. KRUGER, Jurgen (Major) (alias)
ROGALLA, Jurgen (true) Representative of Ministry
for State Security

Ghana

Major Jurgen KRUGER arrived in Ghana in November 1964. He established a secret training school for Ghanaian spies which was exposed upon the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah in February 1966. KRUGER was arrested but not tried since the EAst German government held 350 Ghanaian students then studying in that country as hostages in order to arrange KRUGER's release. On 25 May 1966 the Ghana Government released KRUGER in exchange for the students. KRUGER had been formally charged with "illegal entry into Ghana, impersonating a diplomat and using his privileged position to conduct espionage against countries with which Ghana had friendly relations." Prior to his release KRUGER confessed to the charges against him and further admitted that his true name was Jurgen ROGALIA.

#### HUNGARY

1. BUDAI, Ferenc Second Secretary of trade mission in Milan

Italy

Ferenc BUDAI was arrested by Italian police in Milan, Italy, on 3 November 1966 while in the act of receiving secret information from an Italian citizen employed by the United States 40th Tactical Air Force in Italy. Since BUDAI did not have diplomatic status, he was not declared personna non grata, but is being held for trial.

2. NOVAK, Janos

Third Secretary

Kenya

Following the eclipse of the notoriously pro-Communist Oginga Odinga, who lost his influential post as Vice-President of the KANU Party, some 11 diplomats and journalists from Communist countries were expelled from Kenya. They included Soviets, Czechs, Chinese, an East German and the Hungarian, NOVAK. They were accused of maintaining contacts with certain leftist Kenyan politicians for the ultimate purpose of subverting the Kenyatta government.

#### NORTH KOREA

1. CHU Chan-pyon

Trade Mission

Uruguay

CHU Chan-pyon was expelled from Uruguay in the Spring of 1966 when his visa expired. (See CHU Chang-won, below, for further details.)

2. CHU Chang-won

Trade Mission

Uruguay

In February 1966 the Uruguyan Government announced that it would refuse to renew the visas of the North Korean Trade Mission members when they expired. The announced reason was that the North Koreans were attempting to act as diplomats rather than as trade representatives.

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(Cont.)

As a consequence three North Koreans left with their families on 11 February: CHU Chang-won, MUN Chong-sok, and YI Hyong-su. A fourth member of the trade mission stayed until his visa ran out and then left: CHU Chan-pyon.

3. KIM Kong

Interpreter

Ghana

In March 1966, in the wake of the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, three members of the North Korean embassy in Accra, Ghana were given 30 days to leave the country by the National Liberation Council. They were NO Su-ok, Ambassador, SIN Sang-ku, Third Secretary, and KIM Kong, Interpreter.

4. MUN Chong-sok

Trade Mission

Uruguay

MUN Chong-sok was expelled from Uruguay in February 1966, when his entry visa expired and the Uruguyan Government refused to renew it. (See CHU Chang-won, above, for further details.)

NO Su-ok

Ambassador

Ghana

NO Su-ok was expelled, on 30 days notice, from Ghana. (See KIM Kong, above, for further details.)

6. SIN Snag-ku

Third Secretary

Ghana

SIN Sang-ku was expelled, on 30 days notice from Ghana. (See KIM Kong, above, for further details.)

7. YI Hyong-su

Trade Mission

Uruguay

YI Hyong-su was expelled from Uruguay in February 1966. (See CHU Chang-won, above, for further details.)

#### POLAND

1. DZIEDZIC, Ryszard (Major) Military Attaché

U.S.A.

As a result of harrassment of two U.S. military attaches in Poland in April 1966, for which the Polish Government refused to make amends, Col. Stefan STAREWSKI, assistant air attache of the Polish embassy in Washington, was expelled on 4 May 1966. In retaliation the Polish Government then expelled three U.S. military attaches from Warsaw. This in turn resulted in two other Poles, Lieut. Col. Tadeusz WISNIEWSKI and Major Ryszard DZIEDZIC, being declared PNG on 20 May 1966 by the United States.

2. STARZEWSKI, Stefan (Colonel) Assistant Air Attaché

U.S.A.

STARZEWSKI was expelled from the U.S.A. in May 1966. (See DZIEDZIC, above, for further details).

3. WISNIEWSKI, Tadeusz (Lt. Col.) Military Attaché

U.S.A.

WISNIEWSKI was expelled from the U.S.A. in May 1966. (See DZIEDZIC, above, for further details.)

#### SOVIET UNION

1. ABRAMOV, Valdimir Mikhaylovich Trade Mission

Ghana

In the wake of the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah (February 1966), a large number of Communist officials was expelled from Ghana. This included over a thousand Soviets, of whom only 20 were officially declared PNG. According to the Ghana radio, and a "White Book" on "Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa," the Soviets were actively involved in every possible form of subversion. Not only did they train and supervise the internal Ghanaian secret police, including the detachments charged with protecting Nkrumah, but they also trained and supervised the Ghanaian espionage and sabotage services which operated against the other countries of Africa. These Soviets were declared PNG on 16 March 1966 and left almost immediately.

2. AKHMEROV, Robert Isaakovich First Secretary

Ghana

AKHMEROV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

3. GLADKIY, Nikolay Ivanovich Second Secretary

Ghana

GLADKIY was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

4. GLUKHOVSKIY, Vasiliy Vasilyevich Trade Mission

Ghana

GLUKHOVSKIY was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

5. IVANOV, Nikolay Iosifovich Acting Consul

Uruguay

Four Soviets were expelled from Uruguay on 4 October 1966 for "intervening in labor affairs and inciting strikes." An official Uruguayan Government memorandum stated that the four men were members of the Soviet State Security Service and Military Intelligence and summarized their objectives as: precipitating labor paralysis through strikes and stoppages; aggravating Uruguay's economic difficulties by disorganization of work, industrial sabotage and economic subversion; and strengthening the position of Communist agents in the labor unions. The four Soviets were: YANGAYKIN, Aleksey A., ZUDIN, Nikilay A., IVANOV, and Valeriy F. SHVETZ.

6. KAMAYEV, Yevgeniy Borisovich Second Secretary

Ghana

KAMAYEV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

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7. KATAYEV, Valeriy V. Second Secretary Ghana

KATAYEV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

8. KISAMEDINOV, Maksut Mustarkhovich Second Secretary

Ghana

KISAMEDINOV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

9. KISELEV, Ivan Pavlovich First Secretary

Ghana

KISELEV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

10. KOBYSH, Vitaliy Ivanovich Correspondent of "Izvestiya" and Radio Moscow

KOBYSH was expelled from Brazil on 13 April 1966. A government source stated only that he had falsely reported that Brazilian government officials had accepted bribes. However press reports stated that he had provided financial aid to leftist publications and had encouraged them to publish articles defamatory to government officials.

11. KODAKOV, Vladimir Alexsandrovich First Secretary

Kenya

In mid-March 1966 Kenya expelled 11 officials from Communist countries. Although no reasons for this action were officially declared, it is well known that these officials were closely involved with a leftist opposition group within the Kenyan government which included Oginga ODINGA, a pro-Communist vice president of the KANU Party and also vice-president of the government. KODAKOV was declared PNG on 10 March 1966 and left that same day.

12. KOZLOV, Yuriy Nikolayevich Secretary to Military Attache Ghana

KOZLOV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

13. KRIVAPOLAV, Viktor S. Trade Mission Ghana

KRIVAPALOV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

Kenya 14. KURITSYN, Yuriy Vasilyevich Novosti Press Agency correspondent

KURITSYN was one of five Soviets expelled from Kenya in March 1966. He was declared PNG on 10 March and left that same day. (See KODAKOV, above, for further details.)

15. LAPUSHENKO, Nikolay Ivanovich Instructor, Ideological Ghana Institute, Winneba

LAPUSHENKO was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

16. LEMZENKO, Kir Gavrilovich Member of trade mission Italy

Kir Gavrilovich LEMZENKO attempted to recruit an Italian non-commissioned naval officer to obtain secret information on the Italian Navy and on the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces in Southern Europe, based in Naples. The Italian officer reported the recruitment attempt to Italian security authorities who encouraged him to pretend to cooperate with the Soviet. As a result the security forces were able to catch LEMZENKO red-handed paying the non-commissioned officer for photographs which he believed to contain secret information. LEMZENKO was declared PNG on 3 November 1966 and given 48 hours to leave the country.

17. MALININ, Aleksey Romanovich Assistant Commercial Counselor U.S.A.

MALININ was declared personna non grata on 31 October 1966 by the U.S. Government on the heels of the arrest of a U.S. Air Force sergeant for "conspiring to commit espionage" by delivering to the Soviet diplomat "information relating to the national defense of the United States." The sergeant worked as a communcations equipment repairman.

18. MAMURIN, Leonid Aleksandrovich Soveksportkhleb employee Thailand

MAMURIN was arrested by Thai police on 26 September for espionage. Security officials stated they had abundant evidence that he was collecting information about Thailand and he was charged with performing actions detrimental to the state. He was later released to Soviet custody and left the country very shortly thereafter.

19. MATYUSHIN. Anatoliy Nikolayevich TASS correspondent Ghana

MATYUSHIN was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

20. OBOLENTSEV, Fedor R. TASS correspondent Libya

OBOLENTSEV was quietly PNG'd from Libya on about 7 December 1966. The story broke in the Italian press ("Il Giornale d'Italia") on 15-16 December. According to the Italian article OBOLENTSEV was a secret agent, an expert in Arabic, and had attempted to corrupt, with money and promises of support, the country's most influential officials and personalities.

21. OBUKHOV, Aleksey Aleksandrovich Attache Thailand

OBUKHOV was declared PNG in Bangkok, Thailand on 28 September for activities incompatible with his diplomatic status which affected the

national security. His expulsion closely followed that of L.A. MAMURIN, Soveksporthleb employee, who was arrested for espionage on 26 September and expelled from the country.

22. ORLENKO, Vladimir Ivanovich Doorkeeper

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Ghana

ORLENKO was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

23. OVECHKIN, Vladimir Yevgenyevich TASS engineer Ghana

OVECHKIN was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

Ghana Instructor, Ideological 24. PETRUK, Boris Georgiyevich Institute, Winneba

PETRUK was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

25. POPOV, Nikolay Sergeyevich First Secretary

Ghana.

POPOV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

Third Secretary 26. REVIN, Valentin Alekseyevich

U.S.A.

On 1 September 1966 the U.S. Department of State declared Valentin A. REVIN PNG for having attempted to buy secret information on the United States space program, missiles, and aircraft. He had paid over \$5,000 to an American businessman who was secretly cooperating with the FBI while pretending to engage in espionage for the Soviets. The American had been cultivated by Soviet diplomats since 1961.

27. SHELENKOV, Albert A. Consular Officer Ghana

SHELENKOV was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

28. SHPAGIN, Mikhail Mikhaylovich Trade Mission Cologne West Germany

On 20 January 1966 the Federal Interior Ministry of West Germany denounced a Soviet spy ring operating in that country. It was based on a West Germany scientist who had been forced to work for the Soviets in order to secure the release of his wife from East Germany. The scientist reported the situation to his government and the Soviets were observed in their clandestine contacts by West Germany security officials. Four of the five Soviets denounced for their part in this spy ring had already left the country when the announcement was made. The fifth, SHPAGIN, was recalled by the Soviet Government at the request of the West German government in January 1966.

(Cont.)

29. SHVETS, Vladimir Fedorovich Embassy Administrative Uruguay
Officer

SHVETS was one of four Soviets expelled from Uruguay on 4 October 1966. (See IVANOV, above, for further details.)

30. SILIN, Boris A. Attache's driver Ghana

SILIN was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

31. SMIRNOV, Leonid Vasilyevich Third Secretary Tunisia

SMIRNOV was ordered expelled from Tunisia on 16 March 1966 in retaliation for a similar measure taken against a Tunisian diplomat in Moscow.

32. SOLYAKOV, Leonid Dmitriyevich TASS representative Kenya

SOLYAKOV was expelled from Kenya on 15 March 1966. (See KODAKOV, above, for further details.)

33. TARASENKO, Sergey Ivanovich Engineer, Office Ghana of Economic Counselor

TARASENKO was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

34. YAKOVLEV, Aleksandr Ivanovich Sovexportfilm Kenya representative

YAKOVLEV was expelled from Kenya on 15 March 1966. (See KODAKOV, above, for further details.)

35. YANGAYKIN, Sergey Alekseyevich Cultural Attache Uruguay

YANGAYKIN was one of four Soviets expelled from Uruguay on 4 October 1966. (See IVANOV, above, for further details.)

36. YUKALOV, Yuriy Alekseyevich First Secretary Kenya

YUKALOV was expelled from Kenya on 10 March 1966. (See KODAKOV, above, for further details.)

37. ZINKOVSKIY, Yevgeniy V. Sovexport representative Ghana

ZINKOVSKIY was one of 20 Soviets expelled from Ghana on 16 March 1966. (See ABRAMOV, above, for further details.)

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11

38. ZUDIN, Aleksey Aleksandrovich Embassy Press Officer Uruguay

ZUDIN was one of four Soviets expelled from Uruguay on 4 October 1966. (See IVANOV, above, for further details.)

#### YUGOSLAVIA

1. STRELEC, Ronald Third Secretary -- Cultural Affairs Argentina

Ronald STRELEC was declared PNG by the government of Argentina on 22 July 1966 for proselytizing among Yugoslavian emigres in Argentina and for illegal distribution of propaganda.